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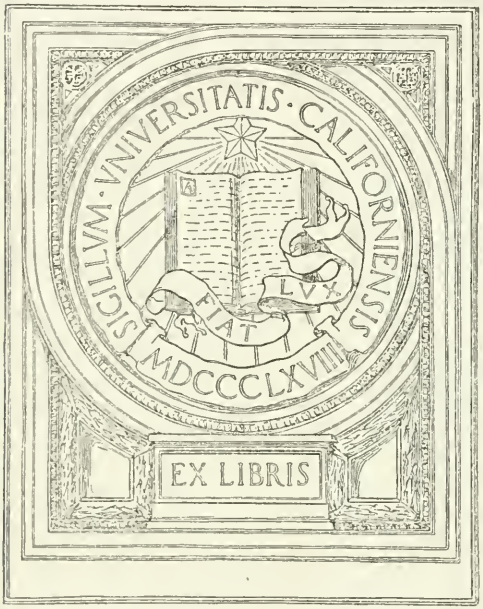

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Catharine L. Van Rensselaer
from her Son
Cortlandt.

February. 1861.

William H. Van Rensselaer

MISCELLANEOUS

SERMONS, ESSAYS,

AND

ADDRESSES,

BY THE

REV. CORTLANDT VAN RENSSELAER, D.D.,

LATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF EDUCATION.

EDITED BY HIS SON,

C. VAN RENSSELAER.

PHILADELPHIA:

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PREFACE.

The contents of this volume have all been published during the life-time of the Author. This, it is believed, will not be considered disadvantageous, as they have been revised and corrected by the Author, and were, by him, carefully prepared for issue in the present form, during his last sickness. His directions then given have been minutely and reverently carried out.

The Editor deems it proper to say that the Funeral Sermon upon the occasion of the death of Bishop Doane, is here republished in opposition to the wishes of some of his father's friends, whose judgment upon this point would have been final, had not his father expressed a

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preference, in his last illness, for its being included in this volume.

This preference the Editor has felt it incumbent upon him to observe, and he willingly bears the responsibility, whatever it may be.

Burlington, N. J.
December 12th, 1860.

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INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR.

STEPHEN CORTLANDT VAN RENSSELAER was the third son of the Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, by his second wife, Cornelia Paterson, the daughter of Chief Justice Paterson of New Jersey. His father was a man of the most unaffected humility of heart, refined by nature and by culture, whose religion was the religion of a Catholic Christian, and who dignified the high civil positions he filled, by the courteous geniality of his manner.

Among the many traits for which he was distinguished, not the least was his personal popularity. Among his numerous tenantry there was felt for him a general sentiment of affection and regard—and, even now, those who are the most virulent against his descendants, seldom mention but with respect and honour the name of the "Good Patroon." As an incident showing the deep impression his character produced upon various minds, it is related that, when "visiting Washington during the sessions of Congress, after several years of absence, in his simple, unobtrusive manner he entered the Hall of Representatives. The moment he was observed, there was so general a movement to press forward and salute him, that the business of the House seemed to have been entirely suspended."

Of my father's mother, the Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye, her pastor and her friend, who knew her well, says: "Constitutional timidity, in some respects beyond what

is common in her sex, served the more strikingly to set forth a moral firmness that was calm and considerate, but fixed, and perfectly immovable when judgment and conscience had decided the course of duty. Indeed, the sense of duty seemed eminently the governing spring of her whole conduct. It may be easily seen how admirably these natural endowments formed her to bless the household scene and grace the social circle; to become the wise and judicious counsellor of her honoured husband, and to exert the happiest influence in her maternal relations. Admirable in each capacity, in the latter she was pre-eminent. She ruled her household with discretion, because she ruled herself with judgment and the fear of God."

My father's childhood was passed in the city of Albany; and the love of his birth-place, so natural to all men, was, in him, distinguished with a peculiar force; it passed with him through all the varieties of his occupations, and went down with him to the grave. Throughout the whole of his life, though the best and most active part of it was spent without its bounds, he always regarded his native State as the foremost among her sisters, and clung, with a reverent affection, to the old Dutch city of his birth. It was the home of his youth, the honoured residence of his parents. To him it was ever fresh and green with pleasant memories, or hallowed with sacred associations; and it is here that, at his own request, he now reposes.

He received his first instruction, in 1815, in Provost Street, Albany, at Bancel's, a thorough and celebrated French school-teacher of the day, where were educated many who have since been prominent in their respective callings. He afterwards attended school for about a year at Morristown, New Jersey (Mr. McCullough's), previous to completing his preparatory studies at the Academy at

Hyde Park, New York, under the care of Dr. Benjamin Allen. Dr. Allen, who had formerly been Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Union College, was a man of high mental attainments, a rigid disciplinarian, thorough in his teaching, and punctilious in the respect due to him from his pupils. My father remained here from the fall of 1819 to 1823, when he entered the Freshman Class in Yale College.

Of his life at college I have been able to gather but little knowledge; and what reveals itself in letters and other manuscripts is mostly of a purely confidential character. His favourite studies seem to have been history, natural philosophy, and geology, with the latter of which he afterwards became more familiar during a geological tour undertaken in company with Professor Amos Eaton. He was thoroughly conversant with the poetry and classical literature of England, and with the oratory of her truest statesmen. He endeavoured earnestly to accustom himself to the habit of extemporaneous speaking, making it a practice to be upon his feet in Linonia Hall as often as possible.

He formed at college many pleasant and endearing acquaintances, and one friendship which walked with him, shoulder to shoulder through life, assisted him with frank and candid counsel, rejoiced with him in joy, and felt for him in sorrow; cheered and comforted him in the hours of his last sickness, and has been tenderly shown in a tribute to his memory, honourable alike to the dead and to the friend, whose affectionate privilege it was to pronounce it.

He was graduated in 1827 with honours above the average of his class, and after spending a short time in Albany, entered upon the study of the law in the law school connected with Yale College. He remained here, however, only about eight months, when he returned to

Albany, and completed his preparatory studies for the bar at the office, and under the advice of Abraham Van Vechten. The relations which he sustained towards this distinguished and venerated lawyer, were of the most affectionate and respectful character; and when Mr. Van Vechten died in the winter of 1837, my father prepared an address commemorative of his life and public services, which I believe was never published, as the manuscript only remains among his papers.

In December, 1829, he commenced a journey to New Orleans, accompanying his father, who had been accustomed for twelve years previous to spend his winters in the South, partly for pleasure, but chiefly for the beneficial effects of a warm and genial climate. It was probably during this excursion that my father's thoughts were first turned to religion, by the death, at New Orleans, of a dear and valued friend, whose loss he keenly felt and deeply mourned.

The record of the observations which he made during this period, is full, minute, and discursive; containing, among other things, remarks upon the geological formation of the country through which he passed, opinions upon the commercial and political advantages of the various cities and States, detailing interviews with many distinguished statesmen and civilians, to whom he had the privilege of an introduction through the medium of his father's acquaintance. He paid a particular and thorough attention to the institution of slavery as it then existed in the Southern States; and the views which he then formed concerning this vexed question, in its relations to the Church, the State, and to individuals, were retained through life; though modified, perhaps, by circumstances and matured by experience, they were substantially unchanged. What these were, is told better than can be done in the words of another, by his Address

delivered at the opening of the Ashmun Institute, and his controversy with Dr. Armstrong.

Upon his return to the North in 1830, although applying himself with renewed diligence to the study of the law, my father's mind seems for some time to have been in a state of disquietude and uncertainty with regard to religion. Under date of June 22d he writes: "Took a ride to Troy — I had the pleasure of Miss ———'s company: she told me she hoped I would be a minister. This was the first time this subject was distinctly proposed to me: though I don't feel disposed to mingle with the world, I cannot think I am fit to be a minister." July 6th, in a long interview with his father, to whom it was his filial custom to go for advice upon every important matter, he mentioned for the first time his preference for the Presbyterian form of government and worship, and adds: "He did not seem to like it, so I abandoned the idea, and intend joining the Dutch Reformed Church."

Whilst in the midst of these doubts the time came when he had determined to apply for admission to the bar; and he accordingly set out for Utica, the place appointed for the examination of candidates, in company with his friend, Henry Hogeboom, with whom, and about forty others, he was admitted to practice on the 16th of July, 1830.

In September of this year he conversed upon the subject which then filled his mind, with the Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor, D.D., at New Haven, who urged him forward in his disposition; and it cannot be doubted that the counsel and persuasion of this eminent theologian went far to incline him churchward.

He seems to have been almost settled in his determination to become a minister upon the 10th of September, under which date he wrote a letter to his mother, from

Boston, in which, after mentioning the serious nature of his reflections, he says:

"This is not a sudden thought, nor the result of a capricious and unreflecting moment. I have deliberated much, and weighed the consequences. I can't reconcile my present course and profession with my views of duty. It is in vain that I imagine to myself that I am better qualified for public life and the contests of the political world. I feel their vanity and unsatisfying pleasures; and my mind is only at ease when I contemplate my future course as a course of usefulness in the immediate service of God.

"Who would have thought that I, the most unworthy of all your offspring, would ever have entertained serious thoughts of dedicating himself to his Maker? But my past life, foolish as it has been, ought not surely — nor will it — deter me from aiming at higher things. It is by the grace of God alone, that I am what I now am; and it is upon the same grace that I rely to bless and prosper my good intentions. The reasons which have influenced my mind in inducing me to abandon my present profession are these:

"1. I consider that every man is under obligations to his Maker, to pursue that course in life in which he thinks he can be most useful.

"2. A man of property, who has not the troubles and anxieties of business to divert his mind, is under *peculiar* obligations to make himself useful.

"3. I consider and firmly believe, that those men are the *happiest* who devote themselves most to God.

"4. My experience leads me to believe, that it is almost impossible for *me* to retain proper religious feelings, if I am occupied with the ordinary vanities and pursuits of the world."

On Sunday, October 3d, he saw and heard, for the first

time, Professor Charles Hodge, of Princeton: and on the 17th of the same month he first partook of the communion.[1] Shortly after, he says: "I saw Boardman, and had a long talk with him on religious topics. This was my object in coming to New Haven. My mind is pretty strongly made up to devote myself by the grace of God to the ministry. I have no enjoyment in this world, and therefore wish to draw myself from it." November 9th, he talked finally with his father upon this subject, when (he writes) "we agreed that it was best for me to go to Princeton;" and, starting immediately for Princeton, with the promptness which always went hand in hand with his decisions, he arrived there upon the evening of the same day.

Having received his collegiate education at Yale College, and having been a frequent hearer and a warm admirer of Dr. Taylor, it is not strange that his religious creed should have been coloured with some of the hues of the "New Haven Theology:" it would have been stranger still, to those who knew him, if he had hesitated to avow and defend his opinions at all proper times. His friend Dr. Boardman, in speaking of this portion of his life, says: "Many a time did we contest this ground in our daily walks at Princeton, and while nothing could exceed the candour and good temper with which he defended his opinions, he clung to them with that tenacity, which then and always, constituted a marked feature of his character." When afterwards he was convinced of its inefficiency and error, he threw it aside with a single effort, and in the later years of his life spoke of it to a friend, as a system "all head and no heart."

At the Theological Seminary at Princeton were passed

[1] These two facts are so mentioned in his diary, as to make the connection a more intimate one than that arising merely from the order of time.

some of the pleasantest days of his life, and he only left this seat of learning that he might complete his theological education in the midst of the people among whom he had already determined first to labour. It was his privilege to form a personal acquaintance with the eminent theologians who then occupied the chairs of the different professorships —Alexander, Miller, and Hodge; which, with the two former, partook of the nature of a guardianship, authorized by the wisdom of experience; and with the latter, ripened into as strong and reverent a friendship as my father's strong nature was capable of.

In the fall of 1832 he left Princeton and went to the Union Seminary, Prince Edward Co., Va.; and while here, the deep interest which he then and always felt for the African race, prompted him to read before the "Society of Inquiry," a paper upon "The personal duty of preaching the gospel to the slaves in our country;" early taking his stand upon his duty with the candour and the manliness which were characteristic of his public avowals of opinion. After a journey through Georgia and the Carolinas, undertaken with his honoured friend and associate, Rev. William Chester, D. D., he was licensed by the Presbytery of West Hanover, in October, 1833, and commenced preaching to the slaves in Virginia, upon plantations in Halifax, Fluvanna, and adjoining counties, chiefly upon those of Gen. John H. Cocke, Mrs. S. C. Carrington, and Gen. Carrington. Having been all his life known as the warm friend of the African race, never having hesitated to declare openly his opinions upon the duty of enlightening the slaves: having been appointed in July, 1833, by the American Colonization Society, their permanent agent for the central district, "to promote the great object" of their organization, it seemed to him fit that he should devote the first years of his ministry to the field where his heart and his duty

called him. The masters in those days, afforded to the young minister every facility in their power, towards the amelioration of the condition of their slaves; with one hand they welcomed him to their hearths and homes as an honoured guest, — with the other, helped him freely and manfully onward in his mission of education. The slaves all loved him; he went around among their cabins, instructing the willing, comforting the sick, administering the consolations of religion to the needful. He prayed with them, preached to them, worked for them. Nor were his endeavours for their good confined within mere professional bounds; they took a wider scope, and among his papers there is a set of "Regulations for a Christian plantation," which were laid before their owners, and in many instances adopted. When he left the plantation of Mrs. Carrington, in Halifax Co., he called upon the overseer, and in her absence requested that the servants should be assembled: this was done, and after preaching his farewell sermon to them, he parted with them, in the language of one of their own number, "all weeping."

It will not be out of place to quote here from a letter of Gen. John H. Cocke, one of my father's stanchest friends in Virginia, and who assisted him upon his own plantation with all the kindliness and courtesy of a Christian gentleman.

"Bremo, Fluvanna Co., Va., *Nov.* 2*d*, 1860.

. . . . . "The strong and abiding sympathy which sprang up between us, grew out of the deep interest he felt in the welfare and religious instruction of the African race in slavery amongst us at the South; and I believe his having devoted the first years of his ministry in that field of labour in Virginia, did more to awaken in our masters a sense of duty to provide religious instruction to their slaves, than the efforts of any other individual. He more

than a quarter of a century ago, during his year's residence with us, dedicated, as far as my knowledge goes, the first plantation Chapel for the religious instruction of negroes. The spot upon which it stands was one of his own selection. After walking over the adjacent grounds, and seeing its convenient vicinity to the three plantations around it, swarming with souls almost as ignorant as the heathen, he knelt down upon the naked earth in the bosom of a tangled thicket, and in the presence of the Rev. Saml. B. S. Bissell, now one of the Secretaries of the Amer. Seamen's Friend Society in the city of New York, and another witness only, dedicated the spot by a faithful, fervent prayer, to the purpose of his mission to the South. The chapel was soon erected upon the designated ground, and stands a cherished monument to the glory of God, and the good of man.

"Since that time many more plantation chapels have been built by large slave-holders in Virginia, where regular religious instruction at the expense of their masters, is given to the slaves."

But his labours among the coloured population of Virginia were permitted to last but little over a year. So early as February, 1833, when in Savannah, the most unwarrantable suspicions were uttered with regard to his mission at the South. These, though publicly met and fully refuted, foreshadowed difficulties, which he felt would sooner or later, cross the path of his duty. In one of his letters to a valued friend, Rev. S. S. Davis, of Augusta, Ga., under date of Nov. 29, 1834, he says:

"Dear Brother Davis:

"I write with much love in my heart flowing out towards you, and with a great desire to see you once more face to face. The summer of 1833 was to me a glad season,

not only in lending my feeble aid to a good work, but also in forming an intimacy with a Christian brother, whose friendship I confide in, and most highly prize. I feel as if the time were coming, when every brother will have need of comfort, and help, and encouragement from his brother's heart. If this Southern Zion is not to be shaken like the forest, the issue is not in correspondence with the signs. I think I can discern a cloud already larger than a man's hand, which is to swell, and blacken, and thunder over the bulwarks of Presbyterianism. It will have small beginnings, but results terrible for a season to the southern churches. Are there not diverse symptoms in South Carolina of increasing disaffection to *Presbyterian Christianity*, and especially towards its ministers who have *enjoyed* a northern origin? The Virginians are, I think, becoming more and more hostile to northern men, owing to an anticipated apprehension of their anti-slavery feelings. The States north of the Potomac, and the Western States will, in spite of every human effort, agitate the slavery question. You might as well quench the spirit of liberty which once burned in the hearts of the men of '76, as suppress the existing tendencies to revolutionary movements. I deeply and heartily grieve that the agitation of the question has assumed its present form. We can retard the tumult for a short time longer, but the crisis is at hand. Virginia has not religion enough in her to meet the issue. The Presbyterian church will take the *strongest* stand against slavery; but the religion of her professors is not the religion which will patronize emancipation. If we had apostolical Christianity, we could triumph gloriously over the opposition of gainsayers and the fiery hatred of formal professors. But as we have not got it in our hearts, we can't triumph. Northern men, who will not dastardly fall in and curse northern agitators, will have to leave the

States, and I among that number. I have returned to my old field of labour among the children of Ham in this county, after a summer spent in a heartless manner at the North. During my absence, there has been some little excitement against me, which will continue among a certain set, who are always prepared to act against the Gospel. The planters, however, with whom I have to do, are still the firm friends of evangelical instruction among the negroes. I shall therefore proceed in my work, looking unto the hills from whence cometh strength. Pray for me when you remember this class of God's destitute creatures, and when you think of ministers who come short of qualifications for their work. There are many difficulties, connected with this subject, which I have never felt before, and which are going to try me this winter severely. My relish for the work is, I thank my God, stronger than it has ever been; and I have given myself up to it as long as God shall be pleased to consider me useful in it."

When he found, as he did shortly after his ordination, in 1835, that his presence in Virginia subjected him to the most unpleasant suspicions, he felt it his duty to remain no longer where the purest and most disinterested motives were misconstrued by the violence of heated passion; and, accordingly, in October, 1835, wrote the following letter to the Presbytery of West Hanover:

"To my Brethren and Fathers of West Hanover Presbytery.

"After many anxious and painful feelings, I find it to be my duty to ask a dismission from the beloved Presbytery which first admitted me to the ambassadorship of Christ, and within whose bounds I have laboured in so much harmony and Christian fellowship.

"The reasons for my departure you have a right to demand, and I will therefore briefly state them in all frankness, and yet with much sorrow.

"I consider my usefulness in my particular vocation, at the South, to be almost entirely at an end. The Lord sent me amongst you, a stranger, to labour among the bondmen of the land of Virginia. I commenced the work in fear and trembling; and yet not without hope that the prejudices which exist between your land and ours, would, after a time, at least, cease to interrupt the plans and operations of Christianity. That hope was beginning to be realized; *the times have changed*, and my hope is gone! A great excitement has sprung up; prejudices, before violent, have received fresh and mighty impulses; obstacles, scarcely visible a short time since, have now become mountains by the volcanic agitations of a rash and fiery fanaticism. Brethren, joyfully would I have laboured amongst you, and gladly would I return, if my presence would be for good! But the peculiar feelings of Southern men are not unknown to me at this fearful crisis; and I wish to act in a way that will not at all impede the prosecution by others of the efforts in which I have been engaged. I know the irritability of the public mind, and the extreme jealousy of the interference of foreigners, no matter with how good intentions they may come. Especially at this time would a Northern man, prominently interested in the slaves, be the means of arousing jealousy and bad feeling wherever he might go. He would be a rallying point for prejudice and evil surmises; and would keep up an excitement not only inimical to his own peace, but destructive of his usefulness. He would be the means of transferring the odium against himself to all others. The idea of personal violence, I confess, has hardly entered into my calculations. I am so entirely conscious of the integrity

of my motives, and the inoffensiveness of my work, that I cannot realize any difficulty on this point, however real may be the causes for apprehension. It is not this that deters me from revisiting your community. It is because my plans have been cut short; my influence impaired; my facilities of operation ruined; my timid friends turned against me; my strong ones become doubtful; and *my whole prospects far more gloomy than when I first began.* Give me aid and give me hope, and I can have the heart to work. But I cannot lean on the reed of my own littleness and live in despair.

"I decline continuing operations which, as far as my instrumentality is concerned, I now utterly despair of bringing to any successful issue. I despair, my brethren, as a Northerner and a stranger. I despair as one interested in a class of persons, with whom to sympathize is becoming more and more odious. I despair as a man looking at the political aspect of the times. I despair, as an ambassador of Christ, reviewing the course of God's Providence, and doubting the probability of the Divine interposition to preserve my plans, if recommenced, from interruption. If I was a Southern man, and enjoyed the advantages of a local origin, I should long hesitate before I abandoned the country. Or, if the excitement had been caused by myself, it would be my duty to return in vindication of my character and in justice to my cause. But, under present circumstances, I believe it to be altogether most prudent for me to withdraw from my connection with the slaves, since my position has become too prominent for a Northerner to retain without increasing the prejudices against efforts of this kind.

"Brethren, if there is work to be done amongst the benighted children of Ham, you are the men to do it, who were born and brought up on the soil; who are identified with the feelings and interests of the com-

munity; who are the pastors of the churches, and the spiritual guides of the people. My own interest in the slaves is not only unchanged, but increased. It is increased by the fact that the difficulties to their salvation have been multiplied, and the improvement of their condition become more obnoxious, and, moreover, by the circumstance that I shall labour amongst them no more. Wherever I shall go, I shall still be their friend; to remember them at the mercy-seat; to labour for them in active life; to aid them in every way in which God may give me the grace and the power. But as a spiritual teacher, my efforts in their behalf are at an end. I consider myself recalled from the South by the same Providence which sent me there. I bid adieu to it in sorrow, but with a conscience void of offence towards God and man.

"I am sustained in my course by the unanimous counsel of all my Christian friends and acquaintances at the North, and also by the advice of most of my Southern friends. I feel fully persuaded in my own mind, therefore, that it is best for me, all things considered, to leave the South. And I accordingly request a dismission from your Presbytery, whose members I love, and shall ever love for their Christian spirit, and their much kindness towards me, and request a recommendation to the Presbytery of Albany.

"Yours in the brotherhood of the Gospel,

"Cortlandt Van Rensselaer."

Turning his face northward in the fall of 1835, he occupied his time in temporarily supplying vacant pulpits in various parts of the country, until, in the early part of 1836, he assisted in forming the First Presbyterian Church in Burlington, New Jersey.

In September, 1836, my father was married to the youngest daughter of Dr. Cogswell, of Hartford, Connec-

ticut; and, after declining calls to Natchez, Mississippi, and Bolton, Massachusetts, he removed, with his wife, to Burlington, and was installed pastor over the church in that city in June, 1837. This was his first regular pastoral charge, and his last. Here he worked faithfully, devotedly, unweariedly. To its people he was the most assiduous of shepherds, and of its principles of government and doctrine a bold and manly defender.

The Rev. John Chester, the present pastor of the church, speaking of the four years of his ministry here, says:

"During this time the church was fully organized, by having its officers appointed, and a flourishing Sabbath-school established. During the first year of his pastorate, the church edifice was completed, and dedicated to the service of God, on November 23d, 1837. It is an interesting fact that the sermon was preached by the Rev. Archibald Alexander, D.D. During the third year of his pastorate, the church was greatly blessed by an outpouring of the Spirit, God thus setting his seal of approbation to the undertaking by fulfilling his promise: 'In all places where I record my name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.' During these four years, four missionaries had gone out from this church to foreign lands, one to India (Rev. Levi Janvier), two to Africa (Rev. Mr. Canfield and wife), one to the Sandwich Islands (Rev. S. C. Damon)."

Though at his own request, and from convictions of duty, the pastoral relation with this congregation was dissolved in May, 1840, the interests of the church which he founded and built up were always near his heart. When its pulpit was empty he filled it; when its people needed advice he gave his counsel and time freely; and, on the morning of the day he died, remembered them to the last, in requesting a change in an arrangement which he feared might prove inconvenient to them.

It is not permitted, in this connection, to omit mentioning the names of three, now passed away, whose presence and friendship contributed much to lighten the lot of a pastor to a struggling and feeble church:—Thomas Aikman, one of his first elders, who brought over with him from his native Scotland the national loyalty for Presbyterianism, the right hand of his pastor in every good word and work; Mrs. Rebecca Chester, a mother in Israel, whose heart was large enough for the whole parish, whose hand was as open and whose sympathy was as free as her wishes were liberal; Charles Chauncey, whose name I trace with feelings of reverence and affection — the great Christian lawyer, upon whose ripe wisdom and experience my father leaned as upon a staff. Often when the labours of the day were over, the brief of the lawyer and the next Sabbath sermon of the minister would be forgotten in the freedom of familiar conversation. Of Mr. Chauncey's letters, filled with the fragrance of a cultivated mind, I quote, with permission, the following, illustrative both of the personal friendship of this eminent man, and of the feeling with which, as a parishioner, he parted with him.

"PHILADELPHIA, *May* 11*th*, 1840.

"MY DEAR FRIEND AND PASTOR:

"Your letter was handed to me in the afternoon of Saturday too late for me to reply to it by any conveyance of that day. I have read it again and again, and have reflected upon it with intense feeling and solicitude, and I am by no means sure that I am duly prepared to write to you on this interesting subject.

"I did not receive the intimation which you gave me the other day as seriously as it is now evident I should have done, perhaps because it came upon an unwilling ear. However, I only make this remark to account for

my not urging the conversation to a more definite understanding.

"My entire respect for you, my friend, forbids me from entering upon any discussion, or even in any measure expressing my feelings upon this most interesting and affecting and important step, when you have said that your mind has been *made up*, after mature deliberation, that you are fully persuaded that the church will get along much better if some one else will now take your place, and that you deem it wisest to keep to yourself your reasons for taking your departure.

"It is my duty to you, however, to say, that I have absolute confidence in the integrity of your heart, and that you have decided upon the most deliberate and conscientious consideration of your duty to God and the church. I cannot forbear to add, that, as one of your flock, I desire to offer you my humble but hearty thanks for the great and, I believe, profitable enjoyment and benefit which I have received from your faithful ministry.

"I feel that we are in the hands of a God of infinite wisdom and boundless goodness, whose care is over even the sparrow, and who numbers the hairs of our heads. His smile has been upon our little church: and his blessing has accompanied your ministrations as his servant. We ought assuredly to trust, implicitly, that He will not forsake us, and to beseech Him for that grace which can alone guide us in the path of duty.

"Your kind notice of my family, in connection with you and yours, has afforded me and mine the most sincere gratification. I am truly thankful to God that I have been brought into that sweet and friendly communion of heart with you, which I hope and devoutly pray may endure forever.

"I am, my dear friend,

"Most affectionately yours,

"CHARLES CHAUNCEY."

During his pastoral connection with the church at Burlington, he was elected to the Professorship of Sacred Literature in the University of New York; but this honour his convictions of duty led him to resign, though pressed to accept it by the urgent solicitations of friends. In answer to a request for any manuscript information upon this subject, made to the Rev. J. M. Mathews, D.D., who was, at this time, Chancellor of the University, and chiefly through whose influence the nomination was made, the venerable divine wrote the following letter, which may well be inserted here:

"New York, *October 24th*, 1860.

"My Dear Sir:

"I do not find in my correspondence any letter of consequence from your respected father; but I have recollections of him which could not well be refreshed by any such aids to my memory.

"My first acquaintance with him was in his childhood, and my frequent intercourse with his father's family enabled me to see much of him as he grew up to manhood. In his early years he discovered elements of character, which led me to expect from him all that he actually became in his after life. Especially from the time when he gave his heart to the Saviour he showed unusual maturity of mind for one of his age; and this was the principal reason which led to his election, while he was yet comparatively a young man, to the Professorship of Sacred Literature in the University of New York, a chair which I was very desirous to have filled by a man who possessed both a sound intellect and a devout spirit. He declined the place, however, because, as he said, he was shut in to other duties from which he could not withdraw himself.

"The success which attended his various labours in the

Presbyterian Church, whether acting in behalf of her seminaries of learning in raising means for their support, or as Secretary of her Board of Education, is a matter of history known to us all; and when I saw how happily he accomplished the objects he had chosen for himself, I was well persuaded that he was labouring in a field to which the Lord had sent him.

"If I should add a word as to the prominent features of his life and character, I would say he was a man of singular simplicity of purpose in his Master's service. No side issues diverted him from what he felt to be his duty. Wherever it called him there he was; whatever it required him to do, he at once undertook, undismayed by difficulties that he might have to encounter; for to this singleness of purpose he added both a moral courage and an indefatigable industry, which are indispensable to a man who would accomplish important service to his Master. He has left behind him a wide breach in the ranks of the gospel ministry; and the Church must look to 'Him with whom is the residue of the Spirit,' if she would see his place adequately filled. . . . . .

"Yours most truly,

"J. M. Matthews."

Shortly after his resignation of the pastoral charge, he attacked what he conceived to be some of the errors and religious fallacies of High Church Episcopacy. In the discussion with Bishop Doane, which followed, and in which several replies and rejoinders were exchanged, it is needless to say that he stood his ground firmly and manfully; and it may not be too much to add, that at the conclusion of the controversy, the young Presbyterian divine came out of the contest with his lance unsplintered and armour whole.

During the years 1841 and '42, his time was mostly occupied in preaching to an unsupplied congregation at Washington. At this time General Harrison was President; and in my father's diary frequent mention is made of interviews with him, and, among them the following interesting ones: "Met the President in Frank Taylor's book-store. He came in to buy a Bible for the White House—he said he found none there, but that there ought to be one." "Visited the President: he received me as usual, very kindly, and we had an interesting conversation on religious topics. He seems to be a religious man; manners frank and kind. A noble old man! Feel satisfied with him as President."

Harrison's death occurring while he was in Washington, he delivered in the presence of Mr. Tyler and the Cabinet, a funeral discourse, endeavouring, as was ever his wont, to improve the dealings of God's providence for the good of those among whom his hand was felt. Washington was not the only scene of his labours; he frequently preached at this period, upon the eastern shore of Maryland, and took advantage of the nearness to revisit his first missionary field upon the plantations on the Roanoke and Dan rivers, where it was his pleasure to learn that the seed which he had sown, had produced many a sheaf, full and ripe for the harvesting.

Returning to Burlington in the latter part of 1842, he nominally remained here for over a year, though hardly allowed rest from the journeys he was continually taking, to supply churches whose pulpits were temporarily vacant. In 1844 he was appointed by the Directors of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, their agent to raise a fund for its permanent endowment. He accepted the appointment, and with untiring industry, traversed almost every section of the country from Champlain to Pontchartrain,

and from the Hudson to the Mississippi.[1] It was in the exercise of his duties as agent, that he laid the foundation of an extensive personal acquaintance with the ministers of the Presbyterian Church: which led his friend Dr. Hodge, to say: "Of over nearly three thousand ministers, there is not one who was the object of so much personal confidence and affection; not one whose face was familiar to so many persons, or who had effected a lodgment in so many hearts."

It was on his return from a journey undertaken while agent, that he was informed of his election to the office of Corresponding Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Education. This, the most important and arduous position of his life, "and that for which all his previous labours had been an essential part of his training," was accepted with sincere doubts of his own ability to perform its duties; and after having been induced so to do, by the warm advice of friends, to whom the welfare of the Church and her children was a most cherished object. What his own fears and feelings really were, is shown in his letter of acceptance.

"BURLINGTON, N. J.; *April* 22*d*, 1846.

"To the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church.

"RESPECTED BRETHREN IN CHRIST:—

"After anxious deliberation and prayer, I accept the appointment of Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church. This appointment

[1] As an instance of the "abounding humour," which Dr. Boardman mentions in his discourse as one of his most characteristic traits, may be cited a passage from the diary kept during the period of his agency, where, after noting the fact of his having presented the claims of the Seminary to a wealthy gentleman in New York, he writes, "Refused on the ground of his being opposed to permanent endowments.

"N.B. God had *permanently endowed him* with over half a million of dollars."

conferred upon me most unexpectedly by a judgment too partial, it is feared, is undertaken with great distrust of my personal qualifications, yet with an humble reliance upon the King of Kings, for grace and fidelity to discharge its important duties. A sincere desire to serve the Church according to the leadings of Providence, has been the motive, so far as I know my own deceitful heart, that influenced my decision. Gladly would I have excused myself from this new service, if I had dared to do it. I feel, dear Brethren and Fathers, that I am not sufficient for these things. If the first announcement of the appointment filled my heart with awe and trembling in the presence of the Lord, subsequent reflection has increased the conviction of fearful responsibility, which this position in the Church necessarily incurs. The difficulties in the way of my acceptance of this trust, were increased by the circumstance that I have been engaged in the prosecution of an agency for the Theological Seminary at Princeton, which I feel pledged to carry to its completion, if God permits. It has been thought that this effort is so near its accomplishment, that it need not, except for a limited time, interfere with the duties of my new appointment. My expectation is that the Board will grant me some indulgence in arranging and settling the affairs of my present agency, previously to entering *fully* upon the duties of Corresponding Secretary of the Board.

"I think also that it ought to be distinctly affirmed on my part, that my connection with the Board is only an experiment for a year. If, at the end of that time its affairs should seem to require a better superintendence, I shall cheerfully yield the place without any delay, and give the Church the opportunity to correct its judgment, by calling into the service a more competent person. In the mean time, however, I shall endeavour to devote my

utmost capacity to promote the cause of religion in the Presbyterian Church, through this great department of Christian effort. And I earnestly entreat those, who have been instrumental in bringing upon me these new responsibilities, to remember me at the Throne of Grace, that all my deficiencies may be supplied, and that the Holy Spirit may dwell in my heart richly in all spiritual wisdom and understanding.

"May the Lord in his great mercy, bless this new relation to be formed between us, and raise up everywhere faithful ministers of his word, through the agency of your Board.

"With sentiments of respect,

"Your fellow servant in Christ.

"CORTLANDT VAN RENSSELAER."

He resigned his agency in behalf of the Princeton Theological Seminary, having first collected and placed in the hands of its Directors, one hundred thousand dollars, as a fund for its permanent endowment, and immediately entered fully into the duties of his Secretaryship. It will only be stating facts to say, that from the moment of his acceptance of this office, till the time when the near approach of death compelled his resignation of it, he threw his whole soul into the cause of education; travelled for it, preached for it, worked for it, wrote for it: that he canvassed the Church to her remotest borders for material support in her behalf; enlarged the scope of her educational policy, and built it up "from a condition of comparative feebleness to strength and power." What value the Church, which he loved, and in whose service he laboured, placed upon his exertions, can best be learned from a letter sent to him during his last sickness, from the General Assembly.

"To the Rev. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, D.D.

"Beloved Brother in Christ Jesus:—

"The General Assembly has learned with deep solicitude of the afflictive dispensation which detains you from its present sessions. It has pleased Him whose "way is in the sea, and His path in the great waters," to visit you with a painful illness. We cannot permit you to suppose that the Church which you have loved and served so well is unmindful of you in this season of trial. And we would do injustice to ourselves not to assure you of our united and cordial sympathy.

"We are well aware that one who feels himself drawing near to eternity, and around whose couch of suffering the light of that "better country" is shedding its heavenly radiance, can stand in no need of earthly consolations. Nor would we offend your Christian humility by enlarging upon the services you have rendered to the cause of Christ. But we may, nay, we must magnify the grace of God in you, which has wrought so effectually to the furtherance of the Gospel amongst us through your instrumentality. We cannot accept your resignation of the important office you have just relinquished, without bearing our formal and grateful testimony to the manner in which its duties have been performed. With devout thankfulness to God, and under Him, beloved brother, to you, we record our sense of the eminent wisdom, fidelity and efficiency, and the noble disinterested liberality with which you have for fourteen years conducted the affairs of our 'Board of Education.'

"Under your administration it has risen from a condition of comparative feebleness to strength and power. Its plans have been matured and systematized. Its sphere has been greatly enlarged. It has assumed new and most beneficent functions. Your luminous pen has vindicated the principles which lie at the basis of true Christian

education. And by your numerous publications, your sermons and addresses, your extended correspondence and your self-denying activity in visiting every part of the Church, you have, by God's blessing, accomplished a great work in elevating this sacred cause to its just position, and gathering around it the sympathies of our whole communion. Nor may we forbear to add, that in prosecuting these manifold official labours, you have greatly endeared yourself personally to the ministry and membership of the Church.

"Rejoicing as we do in the auspicious results of these unwearied exertions, we mourn this day the sacrifice they have cost us. While the Church is reaping the harvest—a harvest which we fully believe she will go on gathering until the Master comes to present her unto himself, a glorious Church—the workman who has done so much to prepare the ground and sow the seed, falls exhausted in the furrows. There, dear brother, we doubt not you would choose to fall — upon that field, to the culture of which you have dedicated your life.

"On behalf of the Church we represent, we once more thank you sincerely and gratefully for all your labours and sacrifices. We lift up our hearts in humble and fervent supplication to our common God and Father, that his presence may be with you in this hour of trial. We hear with joy that he does not forget you; that he is giving you strength according to your day; and that your peace flows like a river. We plead with him, that if it be possible, this blow may be still averted, and your health restored. But we desire to commit you into his hands. That Saviour in whom you trust will not forsake you. The divine Comforter will comfort you and *yours*. Your covenant God will be the God of your children.

"To him the Triune Jehovah, we affectionately commend you; praying that his rod and his staff may comfort

you; and whenever the summons shall come, an entrance may be ministered unto you abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

"On behalf of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in session at Rochester, New York, May 23, 1860.

"JOHN W. YEOMANS, *Moderator.*

WILLIS LORD, *Stated Clerk.*

ALEXANDER T. MCGILL, *Permanent Clerk.*

A. G. VERMILYE, *Temporary Clerk.*"

In connection with the foregoing letter, it will not be considered unsuitable to quote, from the discourses of the friends of his youth and manhood, some passages relating to his labours as Secretary, and their effects upon the Church.

"In this service DR. VAN RENSSELAER was indefatigable. He was one of the hardest-working men in the Church. He worked incessantly, even in the railroad car and the steamboat; sitting at the board of the Directors, or of the Trustees, when nothing important demanded his attention, you would find him busily employed writing letters, making extracts from books, or taking notes for future use. He gave himself far too little rest. When he assumed the conduct of the Board of Education, its operations were confined to the support of candidates for the ministry. He probably increased his labours fourfold by including the organization and support of parochial schools, Presbyterial academies, and Synodical colleges. Not content with all this, he laboured incessantly with his pen. He published an annual volume of addresses and discourses on the general subject of Education; he originated and conducted a monthly magazine, a work in itself almost enough to fill the hands of one person. He was constantly called upon to preach or to deliver public lectures in furtherance of the great cause in which he

was embarked. All this service was rendered not only gratuitously, but at a large and constant pecuniary sacrifice. This activity continued to the last. When unable to leave his house, or even his bed, or to hold his pen, he still dictated, and employed the last remnants of his life and strength in devising or recommending works of general utility. He was, therefore, truly a servant, a good and faithful servant, and he has now ceased from his labours and entered into the joy of the Lord.[1]

"It was not without the deepest distrust of his capacity for the work, that he accepted the post; but there is no one in our Church to question, that he was 'called of God' to engage in this service. Any formal review of his administration would be out of place here: it will not be attempted. Let it suffice to say, in justice both to the living and the dead, that under the wise and efficient management of his predecessors, the Board had entered upon a career of new and enlarged usefulness, and the Church was waking up to its importance as an indispensable agency in carrying forward its plans. Catching the true spirit of the institution, he threw himself at once into the work, and employed his noble powers in fostering and extending it, until death arrested his labours. That he did more than any other man during the last fourteen years, to imbue our Church with Scriptural views of education, to establish academies and colleges upon a sound basis, to direct the attention of pious youth to the Christian ministry, and to elevate this whole subject to something of its true position in the affections of the Church, will be conceded on every side without argument.

"In accomplishing these objects, he had the invaluable aid of wise and vigilant colleagues, especially of one whose unwearied and efficient devotion to our educational

[1] Dr. Hodge's Discourse. Presbyterian Magazine for September, 1860, p. 391.

interests for many years, has won for him the lasting gratitude of the Church. In discharging the functions of his great stewardship, our brother spared neither time, nor labour, nor money. He wrote and published numerous essays and addresses in vindication of what he held to be the true theory of Christian training. With equal tact and ability he controverted false principles which had been tacitly incorporated in popular schemes of education. He expounded the true relations between the Church and her children; and while illustrating their mutual rights and privileges, enforced with cogent argument their reciprocal duties. He did much to rebuke those derogatory views of the sacred office which, to their shame be it spoken, are entertained by many parents who presume to come to the Lord's table. He took many a deserving youth by the hand, and from his own purse, or through the kindness of friends, supplied him with the means of procuring an education. By his preaching and his pen, he did at least as much as any other individual, to raise the standard of liberality in the Church, and increase the annual contributions to all good objects. But why continue these specifications? No inventory can do justice to the subject. What part of the Church has he not visited on some errand of mercy? What good cause has he not helped? What great interest of the common Christianity has not felt the genial grasp of his hand? What stream of bounty, flowing through our land, is not the broader or the deeper because his feet have pressed its margin?[1] . . . . . .

"He was an incessant worker. He denied himself the relaxation which every literary and professional man requires as the indispensable condition of health. Nature is jealous of her rights. If they are invaded, she may

[1] Dr. Boardman's Sermon. Presbyterian Magazine for September, 1860, p. 405.

wink at it for a time, but it is only to make the retribution more terrible in the end. We feel the humiliation involved in this dependence of mind upon matter, of the spiritual upon the animal nature: and we sometimes fight against it with a feeling approaching to resentment. But the principle is incorporated with the economy under which we are living. It came in with sin, and it will only go out with sin. As long as we are in this probationary state, we must have the lesson of abasement constantly rung in our ears, that the deathless mind is a *prisoner* in its clay tabernacle—a servant to the very house in which it dwells. We must wait for the resurrection-body, before we can escape from this bondage. Like too many others, our beloved brother contemned this law. His ardour in the Master's cause blinded him to the imperative demands of his own physical nature. His robust constitution resisted the aggression long, but at length it developed the germs of that insidious malady which carried him to the grave. We honour the motives which prompted to this fatal sacrifice; but we must deplore the error which brought so beneficent a career to what, with no irreverent meaning, we feel to have been a premature close."[1] . . . . .

"Our Boards are the arms of the Church. The history we have been reviewing, shows what efficient implements they may become, as well for developing the resources of the Church, as for carrying forward its work. The Board of Education cannot revert to its former position. Dr. Van Rensselaer's administration has made it a different institution from what it ever was before. And it is now one of our prime duties, to see that it be preserved and perpetuated in all the amplitude of its plans, and all the energy of its operations. These agencies are

[1] Presbyterian Magazine for September, 1860, p. 409.

too vast, too complex, and too vital to the progress of Christianity, to be intrusted to feeble or unskilful hands. May it please God to raise up men qualified for this work — 'men that have understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do.' He alone can heal our breaches, and sanctify our losses."[1]

It will be deemed pardonable, I trust, if some reference is made, before passing to the closing hours of his sickness and death, to my father's sermon upon the death of Bishop Doane, where, after enumerating some of the reasons for the "fearful harshness of human judgments," he cautions his hearers against allowing the province of reason to be usurped by passion, and prejudice to take the place of candour. Probably no other act of his life has subjected him to such censure; and yet, when all the circumstances of the case are considered, it may be doubted whether any other so fully proves his character for Christian courtesy and moderation. Controversies upon various subjects—among them one with the departed Bishop himself — had rendered him full of forbearance towards those dissenting from him in opinion; the experience of history had taught him that, under no surroundings, has passion a fuller and freer swing than when difference in religious faith is accompanied by resentment for pecuniary losses; and in a spirit *sans peur et sans reproche*, he forgot polemical antagonism in the kindliness and the candour with which he strove to infuse into the community that conservative element which never brings "a blood-shotten eye to judgment."

The reproaches of those who were authorized to utter them, were softened and balanced by letters of gratitude from the friends of the distinguished prelate. There are before me, as I write, letters from bishops and laymen,

[1] Presbyterian Magazine for September, 1860, p. 410.

men and women, judges, merchants, lawyers, civilians, whose pages are covered with expressions of gratitude — with words full of tearful thanks — with sentiments of regard for one whom they did not know, but whom they esteemed for his liberal and catholic spirit.

Assuming that those who censured him, for his stand upon this occasion, were right in *their* opinions (and it is not the province of the writer to affirm or deny their correctness), this sermon is to be prized, and *is* prized, for its expression of that true-hearted Christian charity without which man is "nothing," and which, in its boundless scope, "hopeth all things."

But the time was coming when the effects of his too incessant activity and labour was to show itself in weakness, sickness, and death. During the latter part of 1859 his strength visibly decreased. In the month of December he was obliged to confine himself almost entirely to the house; and in February, 1860, he became convinced that his life was in danger, at which time he wrote a letter to myself, dated February 17th, 1860, from which the following are extracts:

"*February* 17*th*, 1860.

. . . . . "I admit your right to speak with some authority on the subject of my too long neglected health. And you did not transcend the just bounds of a son's privilege in giving me a good plain talk. As long as I felt that I had strength to do what I was undertaking to do, I did not feel that I was acting against my moral and physical nature. But my error was that my many plans and labours were gradually and imperceptibly undermining my general health. My eyes, through God's mercy, are now opened; and although too late, probably, ever to expect to be restored to my former robust health, yet I have fair prospects of continued life, at least as long as Providence favours me. . . . . Perhaps they (the remedies

prescribed,) may continue to be of service, as they certainly will, if God shall bless them. I have a firm faith in a superintending Providence and in the 'living God.' My hope and trust are in Him."

In accordance with medical advice he started for the South on the 12th of last March, in company with his wife and the writer, in the hope that a warm and mild climate, even if it might not restore him to his "former robust health," would, at least, mitigate his disease and prolong his life. This is not the place, nor can it be expected that any detailed account of his Southern journey, or of his sickness after his return, should be given here. It would be unnecessary to mention how his spirits were cheered by the hearty kindness he experienced from his Southern brethren and friends; how he enjoyed the peculiar advantages afforded to an invalid in Florida from the climate and genial air;[1] how the fluctuations of disease, at one time elevated, at another depressed, the hopes for his final recovery; or how, at length, he returned home, with yearning of heart, to die there. It is sufficient to say, that the inexorable malady by which he was originally attacked, though conquered in part, had terribly weakened his whole physical nature, and, in the end, precipitated a tuberculous disease in the lungs, which refused to yield to medical treatment, and whose progress, from the exhausted condition of his strength, was fearfully rapid.

Shortly after his return from the South he laid aside the harness of the Church, only when his shoulders had become too weak to bear its weight, and resigned the Secretaryship of the Board of Education in the following letter, dictated to another, when his hand was unable to use his pen.

[1] He attended church for the last time at Magnolia, Florida, in a small church, for whose erection, if I mistake not, he originally contributed.

"BURLINGTON, N. J., *May* 1, 1860.

"JAMES N. DICKSON, President of the
"Board of Education of the Presb. Church.

"MY DEAR SIR:—It has become my duty, in the providence of God, to present my resignation of the office of Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Education, to which, by the favour of the Board, I have been elected for the last fourteen years, the resignation to take effect at the Annual Meeting of the Board, if my life be spared so long.

"The feelings, Mr. President, with which I part from you, the officers, and other members of the Board, my associates in the work of the office, our candidates, the co-operating ministers and elders in the Church, and the whole cause, in all its departments, how can I ever express?

"God has wisely and righteously inflicted on me a severe, wasting, and still progressive disease, and I have a clear conviction that I obey his will in surrendering an office whose duties I can no longer discharge.

"Glory be to his name, in health and sickness, in life and death!

"With my affectionate regards to all the gentlemen of the Board,

"I am your fellow-servant in Christ,
"C. VAN RENSSELAER,
"By C. L. V. R."

His frame of mind during his last sickness, can be no more truly or beautifully expressed, than in the language of his friend, Rev. Dr. Boardman, who was with him frequently at that time.

"I have seen death in various forms. I have watched the progress of many a sufferer from the first stages of a mortal disease to its close. But his is the only instance

I can recall, in which an illness prolonged through so many months, was attended with *uninterrupted* peace of mind. Almost all Christians have, in these circumstances, occasional seasons of darkness and depression. His sky was without a cloud. I do not mean that he had from the first an absolute assurance of his union with Christ. But he had such a hope in his Redeemer as never to have been left 'comfortless.' And this hope became stronger and brighter as he drew nearer his haven.

"In the interviews already mentioned, I spoke to him of God's great goodness in preserving him from doubts and fears; and said, 'You *do* feel assured of your pardon and acceptance, do you not?' 'Yes,' he replied with deep emotion, 'blessed be God, I do. In the early part of my sickness, I was in the habit of saying, I *hope* I have an interest in Christ. But I find I must give that up, and say, I *know* whom I have believed, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day.' And thus it continued to the close. There was no rapture, but perfect serenity and composure. Soothed by the assiduities of true affection—and there is no spot on earth where affection blooms with such beauty and fragrance as in a Christian home—he calmly awaited his summons to the skies."

It may be mentioned here, that, with him, the interests of the Church were, until death, paramount to all things. The Annual Report of the Board of Education for 1860, was read to him by the assistant secretary before its presentation to the General Assembly: letters were written, and when that was forbidden, dictated by him, to his brethren in the clergy, upon the educational policy of the Church and other topics near his heart. One, in particular, commending his honoured and beloved associate secretary to the confidence and kindness of another brother,

was among the last expressions of a friendship which had endured for nearly thirty years.

No suffering, no pain, no physical grievance—nothing but the gradual diminution of strength, attended his disease. On the twentieth of July, feeling the hand of death near upon him, he made the last disposition of his worldly affairs, and calmly awaited the time to die.

No change was noticed, except that at the interval of a week or of a month, until Tuesday, the 24th of July; and on Wednesday morning it was evident, even to the eye of hopeful affection, that all hope must be given up.

About nine o'clock in the morning he requested to be carried out into the back verandah of his house, where he received the last summons. At about eleven o'clock, he said: "It is time to go — raise me up," which was done, and portions of the Scriptures and a prayer were read aloud. He continued thus for almost ten minutes, when he whispered: "I can endure to the uttermost;" surely thinking that his conflict with Death would be severe. But God was kind to him, and laid his hand gently upon him. So quiet and peaceful was his end, that the son upon whose breast he was supported, could not tell by any tremor or sign of struggle, the precise moment of his departure. He died at about twenty minutes after eleven, on this beautiful summer morning; resting in the faith which he had proclaimed and defended through life, looking up into the sky of his home, to the "Hills from whence cometh strength."

He was buried, at his own express wish, in the Rural Cemetery at Albany, near the place where his honoured father reposes in his last resting-place.

PLAIN HINTS,

WHICH MAY BE USEFUL TO SOME

OF THE

NEW-SCHOOL THEOLOGIANS.

BY

BARNABAS.

461515

These "PLAIN HINTS" made no small stir at Princeton Theological Seminary, at the time of their publication. They appeared in May, 1832, in the midst of the Old and New School excitement.

PLAIN HINTS.

Dear Christian Brethren —

It is a painful and humiliating task to bring to view the failings of any of our fellow-men. More especially is it painful, when those men are the public servants of Christ, ministering in holy things, and clothed with the authority of their Master. It would, as you may well suppose, be much more agreeable to the feelings of a Christian, to point out their excellencies, and those characteristics, which might be safely recommended for imitation. But this is not my object at the present time. It is designed to present for your meditation some prominent *failings*, which, I fear, are creeping in, or have crept in, "unawares;" and I wish to perform this unpleasant task with a frank, honest, Christian spirit. You have not much time to spend with me — I shall therefore be brief. Consequently, I must use plainness of speech. That I shall speak the truth, also, you have a right to expect.

I. Let us then attend to some of the *prominent failings* and *practical errors* among the ministers of

the Church—and especially among your own number. It is my design to speak the truth, with a right spirit, in a plain manner, and in a few words.

1. A great practical error, which is often seen in some of the ministers of the present day, is (shall I say it?) *a deficiency of Christian humility.* Yes, brethren! it has pained the followers of Christ to witness in many of His ministering servants, a spirit which is far from that of their meek and lowly Master. How many are there who fail to exemplify the humility of the Christian character, and who seem scarcely to possess, at all, this chief among the Christian graces! Would that the number of such were small! It is fearfully great. This is an evil which is making alarming progress in the church; impeding the usefulness of many, and opposing the growth of grace in their hearts. Brethren! servants of Christ! "humble yourselves under the mighty hand of God;" 1 Pet. v. 6. Oh! BE HUMBLE, be meek, "serving the Lord with all humility of mind;" Acts xx. 19. What! Know ye not that an unhumbled spirit is not the spirit of the Gospel?

2. *A superabundance of contentious spirit* is a failing which, in these "perilous times," is characteristic of many. "And there are that raise up strife and contention," Hab. i. 3, filling the church with discord, and even causing the contention to wax so sharp as "to depart asunder one from another." Acts. xv. 38.

This is no illusion. Every one can say with the apostle, "I hear there are contentions among you," 1 Cor. i. 11. It is commonly reported that there are some who habitually exhibit a contentious disposition. Oh! what a spirit for the servant of Christ! "The servant of the Lord must not strive:" 2 Tim. ii. 24. Brethren, put away contentions. "Let all your things be done with charity;" 1 Cor. xvi. 14. How long will Zion prosper, with a ministry which destroys her peace, and which causes her courts to sound with commotion?

3. *Too much disregard and disrespect for the opinions of others who differ from you,* is another very prominent error. It runs throughout the whole church, but especially through *some parts of it.* How often do we hear the opinions of the ablest men ridiculed in the most heartless manner, and held up to public shame and contempt! and that, too, by *young* men, who ought to know better. Christian brethren, this is not the way to advance your cause. This is not the spirit of the Gospel. No. "Let each esteem others better than themselves;" Phil. ii. 3. "Be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves;" 2 Tim. ii. 24. Be not "heady, high-minded;" 2 Tim. iii. 4. "Likewise, ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder;" 1 Pet. v. 5. Age always demands respect, no matter with what doctrinal opinions it may be associated. True it is, "great

men are not always wise; neither do the aged always understand" the truth; Job xxxii. 9. Still it becomes all to pay due deference and respect to their superiors, and not despise the counsels of old age. We ought to be ready to receive the truth from any man, and especially to avoid treating with contempt opinions which, after all, may be better founded than our own. "Meditate on these things;" 1 Tim. iv. 14.

4. Another characteristic of some of your party is, that *they exhibit too much zeal for their own cause, as distinct from the cause of Christ.* For instance, some *appear* to take more interest in the Am. Home Missionary cause, on account of its being their own cause, rather than on account of its being the cause of Christ. They storm in the general assembly, and then nothing more is heard of them for a year. Others fight for a particular form of doctrine much more earnestly than they contend for the great fundamental and essential doctrines of the Bible. Others are much more solicitous for New School theology, than for the prosperity of the Redeemer's kingdom. "They have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge;" Rom. x. 2. "It is not an enlightened zeal—it is too often a zeal that would exclude others;" Gal. iv. 17. Brethren! be zealous for your own cause, if it be right—"it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing;" Gal. iv. 18. But be like Paul. "zealous towards God;" Acts xxii. 3.

5. Another practical error, is *too much confidence in the infallibility, resistless efficacy, certain predominance, etc., of your opinions.* Many seem to think, that *they* only have the truth, and that verily "secret things belong to *them* and their children." As regards others, they are ready to exclaim "there is no truth in the land;" Hos. iv. 1, Brethren! is there not too much overweening confidence here? Have you right views of the real opinions of others? Are you sure that all men, except yourselves, are, like Pilate, still obliged to ask, "what is truth?" There needs much reformation on this point. No one acts wisely who deems his own opinions infallible. Some of your doctrinal views are no doubt correct; but there is a fearful possibility that, as to others, you have not even "the form of knowledge, and of the truth;" Rom. ii. 20. But even were you well assured that you were in all points without error, this ought not to puff up. "If any man think that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he *ought* to know;" 1 Cor. viii. 2. Let the truth therefore make you free from this boasting assurance. Remember, too, that it is not enough to have "the loins girt about with truth;" Eph. vi. 14. You must take the whole armor of God, lest, after all, you may not "be able to stand against the wiles of the devil;" Eph. vi. 11.

6. Another characteristic is *too much confidence in measures, means, and men.* There is a class who think

that the work of the Lord must stand still, unless certain measures and means are employed, and unless men of a certain stamp urge it forward. This opinion is too prevalent in certain sections of the Church, and threatens to impair its reliance upon the Lord of heaven. There is too much of that spirit which cries out "I am of Paul;" 1 Cor. i. 12. But is not this carnal? 1 Cor. iii. 4. There is too much absolute dependence upon certain measures—which are, beyond doubt, good in their way, but which are abused beyond what is lawful. Many seem to think that everything depends on measures—and that with what measure they mete, it shall be measured to them again; Matt. vii. 12. This idea has no warrant in the word of God. It is deceptive, of dangerous tendency, a fatal source of error to the ignorant. The Church cannot too deeply remember that Jehovah saith. "Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departed from the Lord;" Jer. xvii. 5. "Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase;" 1 Cor. iii. 7. "I speak as to wise men: judge ye what I say;" 1 Cor. x. 15.

7. Another characteristic is, *There is too much philosophy in your preaching.* Some talk in a very abstruse way, and mix up much metaphysics and philosophy with the simple truths of revelation. In many sections of the church. we are sure to be "en-

countered by certain philosophers," Acts xvii. 18, who undertake to make all things plain, and to unravel the mysterious counsels of God. They are "skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science;" Dan. i. 4. They preach much about moral government; the manner of the Spirit's operation, and kindred things — many of which, though "hard to be understood," 2 Pet. iii. 16, are nevertheless darkened by words "without knowledge;" Job xlii. 3. Brethren! is this apostolic preaching? Is this the simplicity of the gospel? Is this the way to bring men to a knowledge of Jesus Christ? Philosophy is good in its place — especially the improved philosophy of the 19th century — but in the pulpit, let there be no intrusion of learned metaphysics.

8. There is *too little open and unequivocal acknowledgment of the necessity of the influences of the Holy Spirit.* Brethren! with some of you, this appears to be an unwelcome subject. The main burden of your preaching is carried on without the Holy Spirit. You, no doubt, think that this is a way of winning souls to Christ, but is this scriptural? Is it safe? Are you not in danger of misleading the ignorant, and even the well-informed? Is there not danger lest some shall bring against you the appalling accusation, "we have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost;" Acts xix. 2. This is an awful

subject. We stand upon holy ground. Seriously consider this point. Beware of dishonoring God, even through a desire to serve Him. The influences of the Holy Spirit are characteristic of the Gospel; John iii. 5; Gal. iii. 2. If any man preaches any other gospel, he perverts the gospel of Christ.

9. There is *too much vain and light familiarity with the name of God—his power—his desires*, etc. Many preach in such a manner as almost to take the name of God in vain; Ex. xx. 7. They take awful liberties with the name of the Most High — (a name which the Jews dared not pronounce)—and treat of sacred themes in the most irreverent manner. This is a harsh and painful accusation; but "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not;" Rom. ix. 1. It is too true. Some preachers are very fond of proclaiming *ex-cathedra*, what God could do, and what He could'nt do,—and in diverse ways, which it would be improper even to mention, they *unconsciously* take alarming liberties with the Holy One of Israel! Nothing has a more pernicious influence. It diminishes our reverence for Him, before whom the angels veil their faces, and in whose sight the very heavens are not clean. It shocks all the feelings of holy devotion, and tends to banish from the mind that sacred and solemn reverence, which even to touch lightly is to wound. Let no one thoughtlessly take upon his polluted lips the name of the most high God. Let no

one trifle with the perfections of the Lord of Hosts. Let no one deal lightly with the King of kings, before whom the Redeemed continually do cry, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty;' Rev. iv. 8.

10. *The facility of becoming reconciled to God is often greatly exaggerated, perverted, and rendered highly delusive.* The gospel plan of salvation is often represented as the easiest system of practical obedience that can be imagined. There are no difficulties in the way. All that is to be done is to "change the governing purpose," and any man can do this at any time. In various ways, false and delusive representations are made, which no doubt deceive many souls, and harden many others. True it is that "all men are commanded everywhere to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ," Acts xvii. 30, but "not every one that saith Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven;" Matt. vii. 21. It requires an agony, Luke xiii. 24 — a life of vigorous self-denial, Matt. xvi. 24 — a life dependent for spiritual progress upon God, John iii. 27—a life of faith in the crucified Redeemer, Acts xx. 21 — and of unqualified obedience to his commands; 1 John ii. 4. Oh! how many a soul is deceived by specious representations, and is led to believe itself safe, when it is "in the gall of bitterness and bond of iniquity;" Acts viii. 23.

11. *The great doctrine of the atonement, and of Salvation through a crucified Saviour, is too much in the*

back-ground. He who errs on this point, errs with danger to immortal souls. The atonement is the peculiar doctrine of revelation, and it therefore has a peculiar prominence in the apostolic writings. "Christ crucified" was the great doctrine of Paul; 1 Cor. i. 23. Christ was his life, Gal. ii. 20; Phil. i. 21 — Christ was his glory, Gal. vi. 13 — Christ his constant theme; 1 Cor. ii. 1; 2 Cor. v. 14. If any man preached any other gospel, than the gospel of Christ, let him be accursed; Gal. i. 8. Brethren! It has often been observed with pain, that, of late, the doctrine of "Christ crucified" is not so prominent as in former days. It does not appear to possess that conspicuous place in the system of some, as it does in the pages of revelation. Is this true? Oh! if it be so, let it be true no longer. Beware of error here. You make many professions of apostolic preaching; but why do you differ from the apostles in this fundamental characteristic? Abandon not the apostles in this glorious peculiarity. Remember that "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ;" 1 Cor. iii. 11.

12. Another feature in your preaching is, *that man's ability is too conspicuous by far.* This, with many, is a favorite theme. Man is represented as the sole agent in the solemn affair of life and death— the independent arbiter of his own salvation. This doctrine is crowded forward, and brought to bear

upon many an ignorant and unsuspecting mind. It is a doctrine, which, when made prominent, counteracts the very feeling of humility and of entire dependence on God, without which no man can ever see eternal life. It deceives the soul. It fills it with self-confidence, and pride, and a righteousness of its own — which prevents it from submitting unto "the righteousness of God;" Rom. x. 2. Whilst one set of men err sorrowfully on one extreme, some of you run into the other, making bad worse, and undermining the whole system of grace.

13. *There is too much of violent appeal, and too little of the didactic, in the pulpit.* Some preachers are constantly striving to excite, and to "rouse" the Church. Their sermons are full of denunciation, or vehement appeal, or inflammable matter of some kind or other. Their motto seems to be, "What have we to do with peace?" 2 Kings ix. 19. The result is, that all instructive, didactic discourse, is banished from their pulpits, and the converts to Christ are ready to perish "for lack of knowledge;" Hos. iv. 6. How barren in the end, is this style of preaching! How apt is it to excite the mind for a time, but to leave it blank at the last! How much need, brethren, is there of caution on this point! Be more prudent — be more watchful — be more "apt to *teach*."

14. *There is too much preaching from made-up propositions, rather than from passages of Scripture.* Such

kind of sermons are sometimes called "motto sermons," and have no other connection with the text than that of mere consequents. This kind of preaching is, beyond doubt, highly useful at times, but when adopted as a *new model of preaching*, it is dangerous in a high degree. It insensibly leads to a neglect of the sacred oracles, and to a substitution of human wisdom in place of the divine word. It throws the Scriptures in the back-ground. It gives opportunity for much ingenuity, and often for much edification—but, as a *characteristic*, it is deeply injurious to the progress of truth. Beware.

15. *There is too much extravagance of matter, expression, and manner.* How often do we hear, at the present time, sermons characterized by the strangest anomalies! Full of out-of-the-way sentiments, expressed in an out-of-the-way style, and ushered forth in an out-of-the-way manner. We are sometimes at a loss what to make of these things. And our surprise is not a little enlarged, when, unable to acquiesce in such things, we are often accused of lukewarmness and enmity to the cause of Christ. Some of your ministers are utterly at a fault in this matter. They are so extremely extravagant as often to excite the pleasant emotions of laughter and mirth—and at other times, to rouse up all the feelings of the inner man in such a manner, as to make every one ready to exclaim: "Defend me from such preaching as

that!" We have every reason to believe that this extravagant style of preaching is altogether out of place, and derogatory to the character of the Christian ministry. The community is ready to listen to plain preaching and to pungent preaching; but the preaching of extravagance, it has not yet been tutored to endure. This is a *new* style which the simplicity of the gospel does not sanction — it is inconsistent with scriptural sobriety—it is like putting a new piece of new cloth to an old garment; Matt. ix. 16.

16. There is *too little attention paid to the guarded statement of doctrine.* Some preachers express their doctrinal views in the most rash and unwarranted manner. They seem willing to modify some of the mysterious truths of the Bible, in order to secure man's acceptance of them. For instance, there is nothing mysterious, in the connection of Adam with his posterity—the new heart depends on a *mere volition*—the atonement is a *mere exhibition* of God's displeasure against sin, etc. etc. In this way, their hearers insensibly take up with loose views of truth, and are prepared to embrace almost any modification of error. Christian brethren! how long will you talk at random from the pulpit? how long will you give occasion for your weaker brethren to stumble? Rom. xiv. 15; how long will you unguardedly misstate the doctrines of revelation, abandoning "the form of sound words," 2 Tim. i. 13, and preventing many

from being "able to come to a knowledge of the truth?" 2 Tim. iii. 7. A Christian minister ought to be peculiarly careful how he represents Christian doctrine — especially in these days of loose talking, and dangerous innovation.

17. *There is too great a contempt of formularies.* Many deride the prescribed forms of their church, wage war with the catechism, and "wax valiant" against all articles of faith, expressed in uninspired language. In this way, they exert a dangerous influence in unsettling the opinions of men, and in preparing their minds for "every wind of doctrine;" Eph. iv. 14. There are some, it is true, who imprudently exalt the claims of the catechism, and who in their stiff notions "do always err;" but this is no reason why others should disregard entirely the old forms of the church. Is there not some danger lest this contempt for formularies may have been engendered, in some, by a departure from certain articles therein contained? We would by no means state this as a *fact*, — but wherefore this outcry?

18. *There is too much exclusive claim to promoting revivals.* Now, that revivals have been generally connected with the exhibition of truth in a particular manner, we fully believe. But why should this originate, as it has in many parts of the church, the high claim to a special understanding of these solemn and mysterious manifestations of the Divine presence?

It is not the *fact* of more numerous revivals which we dispute. But we are troubled at the arrogance which sometimes attends them. There is too much tendency to appropriate the fruits of the Spirit to particular views of truth, and to exclude others almost from the possible participation of them. It is this self-sufficient, arrogant claim which we would, if possible, persuade you to abandon. How little is this like Paul's view! "Let him that glorieth, glory in the Lord;" 1 Cor. i. 31. "Neither is he that planteth *anything*, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase;" 1 Cor. iii. 8. "If a man think himself to be something, when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself;" Gal. vi. 3. Take heed, brethren, to your own selves. Attempt not to exalt yourselves beyond measure, lest ye "fall into the condemnation of the devil;" 1 Tim. iii. 6. Ye harm your fellow-laborers, many of whom are active in the cause of Christ; and are as prayerful, as laborious, and as devoted, as any of His servants. Labor with them in peace. Make no invidious comparisons. Be fellow-workers in advancing the Redeemer's kingdom. "Let each esteem others better than themselves;" Phil. ii. 3. And let all the glory be "to the King, eternal, immortal, and invisible;" 1 Tim. i. 19.

19. *There is too little care and judgment in conducting revivals, and in pursuing measures designed to promote them.* How often are the followers of Christ

grieved by the imprudent zeal and intemperate measures of those who labor in revivals! True it is that many are prejudiced on account of previous false impressions, and not a few are "stiff-necked." But still there is a large number of pious, enlightened, and devoted Christians, both in the ministry and out of it, who are compelled to dissent from much of the system. Not that they are opposed to revivals. Far from it. But must there be so many objectionable means used in promoting them? Must there be so much imprudence — so many exciting measures — so much machinery? Don't understand me as opposing any of your measures, when used by proper individuals. I am fully persuaded that a revival may be conducted by some of your most zealous men, with most glorious issues, through the Lord. But then, how many hasty, "heady" men, abuse all their excellencies! It is to these that I speak, if perchance they will hear. Brethren! Be prudent! BE PRUDENT! "Keep sound wisdom and discretion;" Prov. iii. 21. Beware, lest in your zeal to gather all into the kingdom, your nets break, and your labors are lost.

20. The last practical danger against which I would earnestly warn you is, that *there is a tendency to an extreme in all things.* In doctrine, and measures, there is danger of an extreme. All things are pushed too far. The sober middle ground is abandoned by too many. One moves *ad extremum*, and lo! another

follows, until the middle ranks are thinned to an alarming degree. This is human nature. A reaction will soon take place. Let it begin before more mischief is done. Beware of going too far astray, lest perchance you may never return. "Be vigilant; because your adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour;" 1 Peter v. 8.

And now, Christian brethren, what think ye of these things? I have attempted to warn you against a score of practical errors—and the number might be swelled to three score and ten. But it is too painful and humiliating to enlarge. Have I exaggerated the account? Have I set down ought in malice? Have I wandered from the truth and spoken evil of the ministers of Christ? If I have, forgive me, even as you hope to be forgiven. And pray that God also would have mercy upon me. On the other hand, if any of you recognise any portion of truth in what has been said, bear with me, whilst I attempt, in a very brief manner, to lay before you some of the *consequences* of these errors, as inducements for you to abandon them without delay.

II. Let us, then, consider some of the *consequences* of this course of conduct.

1. The most obvious consequence is, that *it injures the cause of vital godliness.* Glance over the different errors which have been pointed out, and tell me

whether they are not calculated to impede the progress of vital piety in the church. A want of humility —a contentious spirit—pride of opinion—sectarian zeal—a love of philosophy—a neglect of the great doctrines of revelation—an undue reliance on human ability—a disposition to excite—extravagance—contempt of formularies—arrogant claims—extreme measures—are these the omens of spiritual prosperity? Oh! what a danger of injuring the cause of our master! Brethren, can ye not discern the signs of the times? "The sky is red and lowering;" Matt. xvi. 3. Oh! beware lest the rains descend and the floods come, and the winds blow and beat upon our Zion, Matt. vii. 27, and many perish in the waves of the flood. Ministers of the living God, BEWARE! Seriously consider whether some of you are not doing something to injure the cause of vital godliness. It may be—thou art the man!

2. This course of conduct *injures the cause of that form of truth you advocate.* You are known as the advocates of new views in theology—some of which are probably correct—but concerning all of which the community is in much doubt. Now, if these errors are some of the characteristics by which you are known, will not the community mistrust your cause? What better rule is there, than that "by their fruits, ye shall know them"? Matt. vii. 16. Believe me, your cause has already suffered more from the ob-

jectionable conduct of its advocates, than from any other quarter. No cause can sustain itself, with a multitude of such advocates. The sober sense of the community is against them. Though truth will ultimately prevail, it never will prevail, when thus defended by imprudent and distrusted sectarians. If you wish your cause to prosper, change much of your conduct. Become more humble, above all things. Be more kind-hearted to those who differ from you. Be less contentious. Depend more upon God, and less upon yourselves. Unless you do so, you may rest assured that your cause will be injured in the opinion of a sober-minded community.

3. This course of conduct *injures your own character*. A Christian minister ought to be above suspicion. He ought to "provide things honest in the sight of all men," Rom. xii. 17, and to "abstain from all appearance of evil;" 1 Thess. v. 22. The least departure from the example of his Master is vigilantly noticed, and set down as a defect of character. You need scarcely wonder, then, that the character of some is already much injured in the estimation of the Christian community. Many departures from the scriptural standard have been observed. Can an arrogant, extravagant man, engage in "holy things," and his character be unimpaired? Can a contentious minister long escape the vigilance of the church? No! He that wanders from the true apostolical

standard is well known throughout the community, and his character "suffers loss;" 1 Cor iii. 15.

4. *Your usefulness, as Christian Ministers, is very much impeded.* This is very clear. It is impeded within the limits of your immediate influence; and besides, many of your *brethren* are afraid to admit you to their pulpits. By a more sober course of conduct, your usefulness might be much more extensive, both at home, and elsewhere. Is this nothing?

5. This conduct *confirms your adversaries in their opinions.* Many, without much examination, are no doubt prejudiced against you, and become strengthened in their views, by the unaccountable imprudence constantly exhibited by some of your number. No better course could be devised to confirm your opponents, than to continue to set them so bad an example of the power of the truth.

6. *It creates unnecessary dissensions in the church.* Many of the present ecclesiastical strifes might be avoided by Christian forbearance. But your present course scatters firebrands among the combustibles. It provokes controversy — it arrays many of your brethren against you — it causes party to rally — it excites, disturbs, exasperates, alarms — as well it might. And whilst these things continue, when will contentions cease from among you? Ans. Never.

7. *It prejudices unbelievers, provokes atheism, infidelity, blasphemy,* etc. Some ministers, in their ex-

cess of zeal, seem to disregard altogether what the world thinks of them. They take no heed to their conduct, but move right on as bold as lions. That's all very well. But suppose it does injury? Suppose their denunciations, and measures, and whole course of conduct rouse up, and concentrate the array of slumbering infidels — suppose they prejudice well-meaning, intelligent unbelievers — suppose they embitter the feelings, and harden the heart against the reception of the truth. Is all this nothing? Must ministers be so independent as to care not for the consequences of their conduct? Ought they not, like Paul, to attempt "by all means," to conciliate all men? What saith the Scriptures? "Walk *in wisdom* toward them *that are without;*" Colossians iv. 5. "Have a good report of them that are without;" 1 Tim. iii. 7. "Study to be quiet, and do your own business;" 1 Thess. iv. 11. "Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves;' Matt. x. 16.

8. *It deceives and ruins souls.* There is great reason to fear that some are *excited* into the church, and in various ways, imbibe exceedingly loose views of the nature of true repentance. It is to be hoped that instances of such awful delusion are rare. Brethren! Consider whether or not, this be a legitimate consequence, of the style of preaching, and general course adopted by many of you. I forbear to enlarge.

9. This conduct *jeopardizes the peace and pros-*

perity of the Church. It draws off its energies from the great end of its institution—the salvation of souls; and introduces discussions that are hostile to the interests of a spiritual community. It is, moreover, in many respects, a great departure from the established customs of the church. You have introduced serious modifications of doctrine, and some have probably interwoven with them much error. There has been a great disturbance of the elements. Many even imagine that the old sanctuary has been invaded by unhallowed feet. The community is full of excitement and alarm,—and in such a distracted state as seriously to threaten its spiritual welfare. Rash, overbearing conduct, attended by persevering innovations, is, therefore, at this crisis, dangerous in the extreme. Some have done already too much to injure the prosperity of Zion—and its peace—is peace yet within her walls? Every sober observer of the times must tremble for the ultimate consequences of conduct which has already wrought so much mischief in the church.

10. This course of conduct *is not followed, in the long run, by its expected advantages.* It is difficult to enumerate the ultimate advantages of extravagance, contention, loose preaching, an exclusive spirit, and such characteristics. They can't do any good. Are they not a real injury? Do they not prevent the exercise of just so much sober, useful effort? They

do no good to yourselves, but "contrariwise." Do they any good to others? What good? Might not the same, and is not the same, and much more good accomplished by others, who pursue a different course? There is very great reason to believe the course of some, so far from being attended by its anticipated advantages, is, in reality, every way injurious.

Brethren! in view of some of these consequences, which might easily be extended, let me ask are none inclined to pause? Are you willing to persevere in spite of all the warnings of your brethren, and the bad consequences which have manifestly followed the career of many? Are you inclined to desist, or are you even doubtful what it is your duty to do? Or do you ridicule these things? Bear with me, then, a little longer, whilst I attempt, as a Christian friend, to lay before you some of the causes which may have had some influence in introducing some of these evils in the church.

III. Let us then candidly, but very briefly inquire into the *causes*, which have produced errors, leading to such dangerous consequences.

1. *A want of communion with God.* This is the source of much of our difficulties. Some of our ministers are not those prayerful, spiritually minded men, who live as if they were "strangers and pilgrims on the earth;" Heb. xi. 13. They do not cultivate, as they ought, communion with God and their Saviour.

They do not live and walk under the influence of the Holy Spirit. Oh! how are we all deficient here! This deficiency easily develops itself. Is it not owing to this, that there is so much bitterness and unchristian feeling in the church? "For ye are yet carnal: for whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?" 1 Cor. iii. 3. Is it not owing to this that there is so much light and trifling familiarity with the name of God, and sacred things? Does not this account for the self-sufficiency, extravagance, and all the kindred failings of some of our ministers? Brethren! "Examine yourselves — prove your own selves." 2 Cor. xiii. 5.

2. *The depravity and deceitfulness of your own hearts.* Ministers are fallible men, prone to err, and to deceive themselves. Their *voluntary* depravity admits of no excuse, they being the judges. It leads them astray from God and the path of duty. "From whence come wars and fightings from among you?" The question is as easily answered as asked. Consult every page of Scripture, and the honest convictions of conscience. Cannot most of the disorders of the church be too well accounted for on the principle which Jeremiah laid down? Jer. xvii. 9.

3. *An honest zeal for the truth* leads many astray. It is not the first time that good intentions have produced bad consequences. Many ministers of the pre-

sent day, with the very purest motives, and the most honest and ardent desire of doing good, are carried away into rash and imprudent conduct. Their zeal prevents them from keeping "the paths of judgment:" Prov. ii. 8.

4. *A false zeal for your own cause* leads many into devious paths. This sectarian zeal occasions not a little trouble. It is generally warm as a firebrand. It excites bad feeling, *championism*, and all the sad attendants of a misguided and perverted enthusiasm. Guard against this furious spirit;—Read 2 Kings, 9th and 10th.

5. Another cause of sundry failings is *a limited acquaintance with human nature.* Ministers are very often very ignorant of those with whom they have to do. They understand men as single individuals, much better than as members of society, sustaining relations, each with another. Hence, in their intercourse with others, and in their efforts to do good, they often fail. Some think they can succeed without the aid of others, and accordingly treat them with cold indifference. Some think that the customs of society are foolish, and accordingly trample upon them. Some think that the best way to advance a cause is to be noisy, self-sufficient, overbearing. In various ways, this limited acquaintance with human nature displays itself, and works mischief.

6. *The opinions and philosophy of your opponents,*

the old style of preaching, etc., have an undue influence in urging many beyond proper bounds. You think you have the truth, and are in possession of the most efficacious mode of preaching the word. In your opponents you see much that detracts from the full power of the gospel. Some of them express their opinions in such a harsh, ultra-Augustinian style, and preach with such dull, frozen, orthodox formality, that you involuntarily err on the opposite extreme. Hence you are unguarded in stating doctrines, extravagant in your expressions, violent in your preaching, sectarian in your spirit, etc. etc. These things ought not so to be. Let not the failings of others cause you to stumble, but rather let them teach you useful lessons, and keep you in the right path.

7. *The conduct, fierce opposition, unchristian misrepresentation, etc., of some of your opponents*, may account for some of the same spirit in some of you. You are held up to the world as Pelagians, accused of sundry heresies, and in various ways persecuted by some, "beyond measure." This has led many to arm in self-defence; but they have neglected to put on the armor of God. Recrimination has followed accusation, and mutual invective has caused Zion to mourn. Brethren! ye should "walk charitably;" Rom. xiv. 15. Be no longer led astray by the follies of others, but "let your moderation be known of all men;" Phil. iv. 5.

8. *The peculiarity of some of your doctrinal views* may be a cause of some of your practical errors. Your views may be wrong, although you may so confidently think them right. Those of some of you are in all probability wrong. Do not these lead you into errors of conduct? Or is it no matter what a man believes?

9. *The imprudent example of some of the chief men of your party* is a cause of many going astray. Some of your most influential ministers do unquestionably go beyond all unreasonable bounds. And this unquestionably leads others to do the same. Where will this end? If we have a generation of such men, will Zion prosper? Ought not the younger brethren to beware lest they follow the blind? Luke vi. 39. It is to be feared that many have been injured by the imprudent example of some.

10. *Too little love to God and to His cause,* is the fruitful source of present evil to the church. How much is it to be feared that many ministers are deficient in the primary qualifications for their great work! Need we wonder that some depart from the humble, and self-denying example of their Master, when they do not appear to possess the real spirit of the gospel? Brethren—is the love of God predominant in your heart? Do you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength? Mark

xii. 30. Do you sincerely love the cause of God, so as to prefer Jerusalem above your chief joy? Psalms cxxxvii. 6. Oh! examine well your hearts! What carefulness should be wrought in you; yea, what clearing of yourselves; yea, what fear; yea, what vehement desire; yea, what zeal; 2 Cor. vii. 11. If our ministry was more devoted and spiritually minded, would we hear of so much commotion, and dissatisfaction, and insubordination in the church? Is there not utterly a fault here? And what else is the cause of it, unless it be a want of fervent, sincere, heartfelt love to God, and to our Lord Jesus Christ?

I have thus, Christian brethren, attempted to point out some of the causes, which, there is reason to fear, have had a fatal influence on the minds of some, in causing them to err. You have already been called to view some of the errors which may have been more or less connected with these causes, together with their injurious consequences to the church. The whole subject is now left for your own candid consideration; and may God grant His Spirit to enlighten, and His wisdom to direct.

In conclusion, let me ask you, Christian brethren, with what feeling have you read these pages? Have you felt a self-sufficient, and confident assurance, that, as for yourself, you are exempt from any of these failings? Then there is reason to believe you are

under their influence. There is every probability that you are the very man who ought to take heed to them. Examine again. Be honest. Let not the adversary triumph over you, and take you "captive at his will;" 2 Tim. ii. 26.

But perhaps you belong to a party, whose errors have not been pointed out. Don't embrace the delusion that the "strictest sect" is infallible. Think not to say within yourselves, "we have Abraham to our father;" Matt. iii. 9. Reflect how far your own conduct may have contributed to drive others to an extreme, and to injure the cause of your Master. But I feel no disposition to enlarge. Permit me, merely to say, that if you have read over the errors of your brethren with a feeling of complacency, and without deep sorrow of heart, it is a *very bad sign.*

But perhaps some unbeliever, or scoffer, may fall across these pages. My dear friend! amuse not yourself with the faults of others. Unless you repent of your own, you will certainly perish; Acts iii. 19. "If the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" 1 Pet. iv. 18.

Finally; how much reason have all for humility, and for sincere repentance before God! Is it not a cause of deep humiliation that the ministry of Christ is so worldly-minded, so beset with error, and so little devoted to the cause of their Master! Let all, there-

fore, humble themselves under the mighty hand of God, 1 Pet. v. 6, and earnestly strive that the same mind may be in them which was also in Christ Jesus; Phil. ii. 5.

May the Lord, in his mercy, have mercy on us all, and to His name shall be the glory forever.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

An Address, delivered before the eitizens of Burlington, N. J., at the City Hall, November 4th, 1852.

EULOGY ON DANIEL WEBSTER.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

New Jersey, with her sisters of the Confederacy, stricken in Providence, mourns at the grave of DANIEL WEBSTER.

As one of the "OLD THIRTEEN," — ever dear to the departed statesman, — New Jersey claims to participate in his obsequies. The achievements on our soil were often the theme of his glowing praise. Trenton, and Princeton, and Monmouth, were fields, whose memories of renown were cherished by him as dearly as those of Lexington, and Concord, and Bunker Hill. Our own honored Richard Stockton, too, was his intimate, personal friend; and the equally distinguished son, New Jersey's high-souled Senator in Congress; and Frelinghuysen, gracing literature with the laurels won in the halls of legislation. Nor can it be forgotten that the last cause at the bar,[1] argued by the giant lawyer-statesman, was in our own Capital, on the banks of the Delaware, in the presence of

[1] The case of Goodyear *vs.* Day, the celebrated Patent case, argued at Trenton.

our great men, and in sight of the records, the statutes, and the heraldry of NEW JERSEY.

In the town of Marshfield is a sepulchre, inscribed with the name of DANIEL WEBSTER. Death, like truth, is severe in its simplicity. A few letters tell its triumph; a little dust is its victory. That noble form, lately animated with life, lies in silence amidst earth and graves. Quenched is the full eye which delighted in the researches of knowledge, in the glance of the stars of heaven, in the woods, and fields, and streams, and sea, in the countenances of listening men, and in the pleasant charms of a rural home. He has gone. With his friendship, his learning, his eloquence, his love of country, his genius, his wealth of public service, Webster has gone down to the grave.

At this season of national bereavement, it is a duty and a privilege to attempt to gather up some of the materials which make his memory a precious inheritance of our own and of future generations. In giving method to the present Address, it is proposed to offer some account of Mr. Webster's early youth; to form an estimate of his public life and services; to consider his social and religious character, and death; and to unfold some of the lessons to be learned at his grave.

I. The youth of Daniel Webster has a congruity of promise and of excellence, which it is pleasing to record. From the solemn grave of the illustrious

departed on the shores of the Atlantic, let us turn to his birthplace among the hills of New Hampshire.

God's sovereignty, exercised throughout the earth, was seen in the town of Salisbury, N. H., where was born one of the greatest of men. Amidst the rude, majestic scenery of nature; the son of reputable and pious parents; far away from the scenes of wealth and turmoil; DANIEL WEBSTER, a creation of God, entered the world. In the year 1782, thousands of children were born, but the pre-eminent among them was the son of Ebenezer and Abigail Webster. Nor since the 18th of January, of that year, has there appeared on earth an intellect, whose towering majesty has reached, in the range of human elevation, the aerial height of this New Hampshire child. God, in his sovereignty, gave that mind to that human being, arranged the time and circumstances of his birth; ordered for him the training and the memories of a blessed home; and carried on the designs of Providence in his future career of usefulness and fame.

It was fit that a child of God's predestined greatness, should be consecrated to the service of his Maker. On "Meeting-House Hill" stands the old Puritan Church, where "the rude forefathers" met to worship the King of kings. It is a bright and beautiful morning, according to tradition, when Ebenezer and Abigail Webster set out for the house of

God, accompanied by their children, and carrying their new-born infant for the holy rite of baptism. The *Rev. Jonathan Searle*, the minister of the parish, dressed in the robes of the olden time, is at his post, in the high, magisterial Puritan pulpit. After prayer, the reading of the Word, and a hymn, the sacrament is to be administered. The young, mysterious infant is brought forward, no one knowing or dreaming "what manner of child this was to be;" the vows are taken; and in the presence of God, and angels, and witnessing men, Daniel Webster was baptized "in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

That old church has long since crumbled into ruin. Minister, parents, and child are also now in the dust; but the ceremonies of that day have an interest which yet lingers around the old "Meeting-House Hill."

Daniel Webster is indebted, under God, to nothing more than to his youthful training. Without this, he would have been a wreck, cast up and torn to pieces, in early dishonor, upon the terrific precipices of human passion. For the elevation of his public sentiments, for the integrity of a long career, for whatever of restraint was experienced in social life, and whatever of solace hovered around his dying bed, he was under obligations to the honored and beloved parents who were the guardians of his childhood and youth.

His first teacher was his mother. Other children

had she already nursed and taught; but the youngest boy was the darling, and she prophesied great things of her Daniel. There she sits, in her quiet home, with the young child on her knee, teaching him the letters of the alphabet, and telling him how great and good is God. It has been said that the extraordinary genius of the future statesman descended from the maternal line; and it is certain that Mrs. Webster was a woman of uncommon intellect, of warm affections, of true piety, and of commanding influence in her household. It is nevertheless true that the father was also an eminent man, both in public and private life. Daniel thus writes of his father, thirty years after he had been in the grave: "He had in him what I recollect to have been the character of some of the old Puritans. He was deeply religious, but not sour; on the contrary, good-humored, facetious, — showing, even in his age, with a contagious laugh, teeth all white as alabaster,—gentle, soft, playful; and yet having a heart in him that he seemed to have borrowed from a lion. He could frown (a frown it was); but cheerfulness, good humor, and smiles, composed his most usual aspect."

There can be no doubt that the parents' nurture of their son left its influence upon all his future life. The Hon. Rufus Choate alludes to "that training of the giant infancy on *Catechism and Bible, and Watts's version of the Psalms*, and on the traditions of Ply-

mouth and Fort William Henry, and the age of Washington and Franklin." All that father and mother could do, to bring up their child in the true principles both of Church and of State, was done by these pious, republican parents. The glorious doctrines of the Bible, and the ennobling truths of public liberty, were the seed sown into the furrows of his mighty soul.

On the easterly side of the road, a short distance from the family mansion, between two buttonwoods, stood the *log schoolhouse*, taught by Thomas Chase. Here the future statesman commenced his public education. Reading, writing, and arithmetic, with instruction in the Bible and Catechism, formed the grand outlines of an old-fashioned, New England education. Like the hills of New Hampshire, these constitute the granite range of the soil, from whence flow the tributaries and the rivers of future acquisition.

Into the log school of Salisbury the little boy with a high forehead and black eye went daily to obtain the rudiments of an English education. The hand that is learning to write in the rude copy-book is at some future day to draw up our grandest documents of State, and to sign treaties with foreign powers. Here were acquired those pure Saxon words which were to become the regalia of a king of orators; here the reading, which opened to his clear intellect the stores of ancient and professional knowledge; here

the early taste for thoroughness and simplicity. How great has been the influence of the schoolhouses of New England in training up generations for usefulness in Church and State, and for the sacred duties of domestic life! Happy for Daniel Webster that the schoolmaster was abroad in his day! Long may the common schools of our land flourish, with enlarged blessings for the people; and may they never teach human learning to the exclusion of the higher knowledge of Christ!

Agricultural pursuits had, in after life, an absorbing influence on Mr. Webster. Where did he acquire his fondness for engaging in the cultivation of the field, and his skill in successfully managing the farm? Where else than on the old homestead? He used to follow the horse in the plough, was taught to handle the sickle, knew how to rake and stack hay, drove the cows to pasture in the morning, and home again at night; in short, he was trained from a boy to do the work of a farm, and he never ceased to love these joyous and hearty occupations of his youth. The old Salisbury fields were the agricultural school where he became imbued with the taste and knowledge which afterwards made him a farmer of the highest grade, both in science and in practice.

Agriculture, as an occupation, has a useful influence. It gives a practical direction to the mind; it cultivates habits of industry; promotes self-reliance and

independence; gives hardihood to the frame; fosters the attachment of home, and brings God and his providence into a peculiar kind of contact with every-day life. Deem not the farm-work of this boy an unimportant affair of his early days! Among humble and pious farmers, he is, with them, getting good and doing good.

"Oft did the harvest to their sickle yield,
Their furrow oft the stubborn glebe has broke;
How jocund did they drive their team a-field!
How bowed the woods beneath their sturdy stroke!

"Let not Ambition mock their useful toil,
Their homely joys, and destiny obscure;
Nor Grandeur hear, with a disdainful smile,
The short and simple annals of the poor."

No! On that retired farm, there is ONE who will arise to a grandeur of fame, which the ambition of few will be bold enough to aim at. He will be heard of again at WASHINGTON! He will be heard of at MARSHFIELD!

The following is Mr. Webster's own account of the circumstances which resulted in his going to Exeter Academy, a celebrated institution, founded in 1781 by the liberality of John Phillips, LL. D.:

"On a hot day in July, — it must have been one of the last years of Washington's administration,—I was making hay with my father, just where I now see a remaining elm tree, about the middle of the afternoon. The Hon. Abiel Foster, M. C., who lived in Canterbury, six miles off, called at the house, and came into the field to see my father. He was a worthy man, college

learned, and had been a minister, but was not a person of any considerable natural powers. My father was his friend and supporter. He talked awhile in the field, and went on his way.

"When he was gone, my father called me to him, and we sat down beneath the elm, on a hay-cock. He said, 'My son, that is a worthy man, — he is a member of Congress, — he goes to Philadelphia, and gets six dollars a day, while I toil here. It is because he had an education, which I never had. If I had had his early education, I should have been in Philadelphia in his place. I came near it, as it was. But I missed it, and now I must work here.' 'My dear father,' said I, 'you shall not work Brother and I will work for you, and wear our hands out, and you shall rest,' — and I remember to have cried, and I cry now, at the recollection. 'My child,' said he, 'it is of no importance to me; I now live but for my children; I could not give your elder brother the advantages of knowledge, but I can do something for you. Exert yourself — improve your opportunities — *learn* — *learn* — and when I am gone, you will not need to go through the hardships which I have undergone, and which have made me an old man before my time.'

"The next May he took me to Exeter to the Phillips Exeter Academy, and placed me under the tuition of its excellent preceptor, Dr. Benjamin Abbott, still living."

Mr. Webster entered Phillips's Academy in May, 1796, at the age of fourteen, and remained there nine months. He greatly endeared himself to Dr. Abbott, and made considerable progress in the acquisition of the Latin language, in composition, and in declamation. His intellectual and social faculties received a kindly development among the ninety boys at the institution. After leaving Exeter, Mr. Webster was placed for six months in the family of the Rev. Samuel Wood, D.D., of Boscawen, who superintended

his studies, and persuaded him to apply for admission, without delay, into Dartmouth College.

Although Mr. Webster did not begin his Greek grammar until June, he entered college in August. This was in 1797, when John Wheelock, LL. D., was president. Mr. Webster chiefly distinguished himself, in the words of Dr. Shurtleff, by "attending to his own business," and pursuing his studies with diligence. Virgil and Cicero were his favorite Latin authors. Watts on the Mind and Locke on the Understanding developed his metaphysical acumen; and his style of speaking was nurtured by reading Burke, Pitt, Ames, Hamilton, and other distinguished orators. While in College, in the Junior year, Mr. Webster delivered a Fourth of July oration, which showed that he well understood American history and the origin of our Constitution. This remarkable production — for a young man — was published in the year 1800. The following extracts will be read with interest:

"The solemn Declaration of Independence is now pronounced, amidst crowds of admiring citizens, by the supreme council of our nation; and received with the unbounded plaudits of a grateful people.

"That was the hour when heroism was proved—and the souls of men tried.

"It was then, YE VENERABLE PATRIOTS (speaking to the Revolutionary soldiers present), it was then you lifted the indignant arm, and unitedly swore to be free! Despising such toys as *subjugated* empires, you then knew no middle fortune between liberty and death.

"Firmly relying on the protection of heaven, unwarped in the resolution you had taken, you then, undaunted, met—engaged—defeated the gigantic power of Britain, and rose triumphant over the aggressions of your enemies.

"Trenton, Princeton, Bennington, and Saratoga, were the successive theatres of your victories, and the utmost bounds of creation are the limits to your fame! The sacred fire of freedom, then enkindled in your breasts, shall be perpetuated through the long descent of future ages, and burn, with undiminished fervor, in the bosom of millions yet unborn."

The young orator alludes to the *Articles of Confederation* and to the *Constitution* in the same terms which characterized his subsequent speeches in the Senate of the United States:

"No sooner was peace restored with England (the first grand article of which was the acknowledgment of our independence), than the old system of Confederation, dictated, at first, by necessity, and adopted for the purposes of the moment, was found inadequate to the government of an extensive Empire. Under a full conviction of this, we then saw the people of these States engaged in a transaction which is undoubtedly the greatest approximation towards human perfection the political world ever yet witnessed, and which, perhaps, will forever stand in the history of mankind without a parallel. A great Republic, composed of different States, whose interest in all respects could not be perfectly compatible, then came deliberately forward, discarded one system of government and adopted another, without the loss of one man's blood."

Mr. Webster's future eminence was clearly predicted in college. Professor Sanborn says: "By the unanimous consent both of teachers and classmates, he stood at the head of his associates in study; and was as far above them in all that constitutes human

greatness as he is now." Anecdotes of him, treasured up in the traditions of succeeding classes, were told for many years. His collegiate course was the means of nurturing and developing the greatness which gave honor to New England and the whole country. Fortunate the institution which enrols Daniel Webster among its alumni!

There is something sublime in the association of this name with school teaching. Twice did this mighty man of intellect condescend, as teacher, to train the intellect of others. Once during a college vacation, and again at Fryeburg in Maine, shortly after he was graduated. It was at the latter place that he was more particularly known as a teacher. The town of Fryeburg will ever be celebrated as the sphere which exercised the training talent of the immortal statesman. The object of Mr. Webster, in securing the situation, was honorable to his heart. It was for the purpose of assisting his brother Ezekiel through college. His salary as teacher was only $350, or at the rate of about $1 a day; but by becoming assistant to the Register of Deeds, he was enabled to defray his own expenses, and to contribute to the education of his beloved brother.[1]

[1] "Mr. Webster's son, and one of his friends, have lately visited Fryeburg, and examined these records of deeds. They are still preserved in two huge folio volumes, in Mr. Webster's handwriting, exciting wonder how so much work could be done in the evening, after days of close confinement to the business

Daniel Webster, a teacher! Well done, thou glorious son of Puritan ancestry. The office honored thee, as thou honored it. Second only to the ministry in its capacities of usefulness, it needs the services of the greatest and of the best. What thou hadst, thou didst bestow; and teachers will thank thee for the recollection of thy labors, and for thy impressive professional example.

The Rev. *Dr. Osgood*, of Springfield, Mass., related[1] that Mr. Webster boarded with his father for seven months, whilst teaching at Fryeburg, and that during that time he [Dr. Osgood] became intimate with him. Dr. Osgood bore testimony to the manly, moral, and religious character of Mr. Webster, who "*at one time seriously entertained the idea of studying for the ministry.*" Such a testimonial, coming up from the cherished memories of half a century, exalts the young teacher in the hearts of other generations.

II. Mr. Webster's PUBLIC LIFE now opens before us. The Connecticut River, on the banks of which stands Dartmouth College, sweeps downward to the sea. Thus the career of the graduated youth swells into the vast affairs of the world.

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of the school. They looked also at the records of the trustees of the academy, and found in them a most respectful and affectionate vote of thanks and good-will to Mr. Webster when he took leave of his employment." — *Everett's Memoir*, p. xxvii.

[1] In a speech on the occasion of Mr. Webster's death. Dr. Osgood is an Orthodox Congregational minister.

The anticipations of Mr. Webster's early life had a glowing fulfilment in a long career of distinguished professional and political service. In his public relations, he may be contemplated as a *lawyer*, a *statesman*, an *orator*, and a *writer*. Would that a more competent person stood before you, to do justice to this various greatness!

Whilst teaching school in Fryeburg, the eye of Daniel Webster first rested upon Blackstone's Commentaries, as the book of professional study.[1] He, who was born and educated in New Hampshire, and who spent the strength of his days in Massachusetts, and at Washington, was sent to Maine to learn law. The calling, which Providence had in view for the young man, was promoted by bringing him in contact with Blackstone in a country village. The principles, then acquired, were at the foundation of all his future legal attainments.

Admitted to the bar in 1805, he was drilled to the drudgery and honors of the profession, in close competition with the intellect of Jeremiah Mason, and other distinguished men. In the midst of a growing and extensive practice, he cultivated his powers by study and general reading, until finally he was surpassed by none in his vocation. His knowledge of the elementary principles of law was profound; his learning, in the application of precedents, and in the

[1] He borrowed the book, not being in a condition to buy it.

citation of statutes and authorities, was minute; and his skill in managing a case, and in pleading before a Court or Jury, was eminent. Daniel Webster has never had a superior in the combination of qualifications requisite for an accomplished lawyer. In the language of Rufus Choate, "he was by universal designation, the leader of the general American bar; and was one,

'The whole Law's thunder born to wield.'"

His reputation as a lawyer was established in the eyes of the nation by his argument in the celebrated Dartmouth College case, at Washington, in 1818. On that occasion, he appeared before the Supreme Court of the United States in all his eminence of law and oratory, winning the judgment of the Bench by his logic, and moving the audience even to tears by his pathos.[1] The tradition of that speech—the technical outlines being alone preserved in his Works—makes it one of the grandest forensic efforts ever put forth. No lawyer in this country has been engaged in as many great cases as Daniel Webster, or managed them with more ability and success. He was equally great in civil and in criminal cases. His knowledge of human nature was abreast of his legal learning. His eye was a searcher of character. His capacity

[1] It is said that the dignified Chief Justice Marshall did not escape the contagious sympathy of the occasion.

to unravel circumstantial testimony, and to present it with precision and power to a jury, was one of the many professional adaptations, which, at times, made him terrible towards the guilty. The murder case at Salem gave opportunity for displays of this nature.[1]

Some of the other celebrated cases, in which Webster's fame is enshrined, are the steamboat case of Gibbons and Ogden, that of the Charles River Bridge, the United States Bank, the boundary of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the Dorr Rebellion, the Girard Will, the Gaines estate and the Goodyear patent.

Mighty man in a mighty profession! His name is associated with the weightiest judgments of Courts, the most intricate questions of civil and constitutional law, the dearest rights of mankind, the most severe displays of intellectual competition, and scenes of the most commanding and effective eloquence!

Although the sciences of law and of government have common principles, and maintain general relations of affinity and correspondence, they are by no means identical; nor does professional eminence in the one necessarily lead to equal honor in the other. On the contrary, an eminent lawyer rarely makes a great statesman. Daniel Webster was both. Law and statesmanship were the double sciences through which his great mind gave expression to its diversified powers. This remarkable combination heightens

[1] See his Works, vol. vi., p. 41.

immeasurably his eminence in each profession. To be great in either, is greatness indeed; but to be great, and *so* great, in *both*, is the achievement only of genius, gifted superlatively.

Mr. Webster's early predilections seem to have been towards public life. This is indicated in his Junior oration at Dartmouth College, an oration exhibiting both political knowledge and party enthusiasm. The young student, when at Fryeburg, did not confine his studies to Blackstone. At this same place he committed to memory Fisher Ames's celebrated speech on the British treaty—a speech abounding in comprehensive investigations of political science and history. He thus began early in life that double work of law and government, which was perfected in the world-renowned reputation of an eventful public career.

Mr. Webster's first speech on entering public life, as he himself says,[1] was in behalf of the system of common schools — a beginning worthy of the log school-house boy, of the Dartmouth College youth, of the Massachusetts Senator, and of the United States Secretary of State. In 1813, at the age of 31, Mr. Webster, then residing at Portsmouth, took his seat as Representative from New Hampshire in the Congress of the United States. His maiden speech, delivered the same year, on the Berlin and

[1] Speech at Madison, Indiana, in vol. i., p. 403, of his Works.

Milan decrees, placed him in the front rank with Clay, Calhoun, Lowndes, and the other leaders in the House. The distinguished Lowndes remarked: "The North had not his equal, nor the South his superior."[1] Mr. Webster's most celebrated speeches in the Lower House were on the embargo, the increase of the navy, the bank, the Greek revolution, the Panama mission, and the tariff: in the Senate, on the tariff, Mr. Foot's resolution, nullification, the United States Bank, the French spoliation bill, the public lands, the power of removal from office, the national defence, the currency question, internal improvements, the annexation of Texas, the independent treasury, the boundary treaty, the compromise measures.

His statesmanlike capabilities, as Secretary of State, were signally displayed in the settlement of the Northeastern boundary, the Caroline and Amistad cases, the relations with Mexico, the German Zoll-Verein, the Hulseman letter, Central American affairs, China and the Sandwich Islands, and the right of fishery. Mr. Webster's diplomatic and official papers, embracing the relations of the United States

[1] *Chief Justice Marshall*, in a letter to a friend, says: "At the time this speech was delivered, I did not know Mr. Webster, but I was so much struck with it, that I did not hesitate then to state that Mr. Webster was a very able man, and would become one of the very first statesmen in America, perhaps the very first."

with the principal nations of the earth, embody an amount of intricate political disquisition, creditable to his intellect, his wisdom, and his learning.[1] His administration of the State Department will be chiefly associated with "The Treaty of Washington," and the boundary question. This treaty was negotiated under circumstances of extreme embarrassment; England, on the one hand, never feeling better prepared for war than in 1842, and our own people being strongly clamorous for an uncurtailed boundary line. The controversy, however, of nearly half a century was settled amicably and honorably to both nations.

A necessary element in the character of a statesman is devotion to his country. The sources of Daniel Webster's patriotism were the Bible and American history; to these he had been led by a mother's piety and a father's example. The father's personal services and reminiscences, in the war of 1776, were rallying points of hereditary patriotism; and naturally served to associate, with more than ordinary vividness, the principles of the Revolution with those of the Mayflower compact, of Plymouth Rock, and of Pilgrim heroism and suffering. Nurtured under the inspirations of Bible truth, and of Puritan and Revolutionary history, Daniel Webster was a true lover of his country. Referring to the early history of New England in his Address at Plymouth Rock,

[1] See Webster's Works, vol. vi., pp. 247–530.

he exclaimed: "Who would wish for other emblazoning of his country's heraldry, or other ornaments of her genealogy, than to be able to say, that her first existence was with intelligence, her first breath the inspiration of liberty, her first principle the truth of divine religion."

Mr. Webster's patriotism was displayed in a long public life by his *unquenchable attachment to the Union.* Thoroughly and minutely acquainted with American history, deeply realizing the radical defects of the Articles of the old Confederation, convinced of the necessity of the permanent Union of the States, and glorying in the wisdom of the Constitution as it is, he put forth his whole powers in perpetuating American liberty on its ancient covenanted foundation. He ever maintained that our present Constitution was formed, not by the separate States, but by the people of the whole United States. This was the groundwork of his argument against Nullification. His soul was with the people as the framers of the Constitution. To their wisdom in adopting this instrument, he always gave due homage. For example, in his speech at Faneuil Hall, in 1838, he said that the mechanics of Boston "saw as quick and as fully as any men in the country, the infirmities of the old Confederation, and discerned the means by which they might be remedied. From the first, they were ardent and zealous friends of the Constitution. They

saw the necessity of united councils, and common regulations, for all the States, in matters of trade and commerce."[1] THE CONSTITUTION, the Constitution *originating in the wants of the people, and approved by their own wisdom*, were ideas which illuminated the way of his whole political career, and which flashed their light amidst the splendor of his most sublime eloquence. Mr. Webster's political reputation will be identified not so much with one particular measure, as with the grand principle of constitutional integrity which pervaded all his counsels and opinions. He was the man for the UNION, for "the country, the whole country, and nothing but the country." The crown of his statesmanship will receive its highest glory,—not in the laurel leaves of a general renown, but in the "bright particular stars" of the American Union, set in jewelled brightness upon his brow, adorning and adorned.

The conclusion of his celebrated speech, in reply to Colonel Hayne, presents the leading principle of his public life.

"*When my eyes for the last time shall be raised to behold the sun in heaven,* may they not gaze upon the broken fragments of a dishonored, but once glorious Union; upon States dissevered, discordant, and belligerent; upon a land rent with civil feuds, and drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood. Let their last feeble and lingering gaze rather behold the glorious ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full

[1] Vol. i., p. 430.

high advanced — not one stripe erased or polluted, not one star obscured—but streaming in all their original lustre, and bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory, as 'What is all this worth?' nor those other words of delusion or folly, 'Liberty first and Union afterwards;' but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart, 'LIBERTY AND UNION, *now and forever, one and inseparable.*'"

The characteristic of Calhoun was his earnest dialectic power, which stormed the intellect, — but often in vain. Clay possessed a pathetic, soul-stirring eloquence, which commanded the homage and the emotions of the multitude. Webster's impressive majesty of thought commonly captivated the understanding; but when, on special occasions, he wielded the thunderbolts of his great right arm, and the lightning of his outbreaking soul flashed athwart the firmament, there was an awe in the spectators, seldom felt among men. Calhoun was the metaphysical reasoner; Clay, the popular orator; Webster, the philosophical Senator. Of the three, Clay had the most personal influence and the greatest tact; Calhoun was equal to either in honest purpose and zealous, manly determination; Webster was sublime in towering genius, comprehensive argumentation, and bold, Saxon utterance. Each was independent and lofty-minded. Although Carolina, Kentucky, and Massachusetts are well-nigh unanimous, each in favor of her own

son, the general voice of the nation would probably give to Calhoun more of bold, metaphysical subtlety (in the best sense of that word); to Clay more of winning and accomplished oratory; to Webster more of influential reasoning, literary acquisition, and enduring impression.

Daniel Webster's oratory became his personal appearance, like the drapery of a classic statue. There was a harmony in his presence, and in his words; in the light of his eye and the light of his thoughts; in his compact muscular form, and his arguments; in the majesty of his brow, and the full-meaning, solemn enunciations of his truth. He was a man equal to emergencies. Indeed, emergencies were necessary for the full development of his powers. He was ordinarily calm and argumentative. His address was in winning the understanding; but when needful, reserved forces of passionate eloquence were marshalled forth, at the sound of his great voice, with consummate skill and success. He was not aggressive by nature. His tremendous prerogative was defence. Constitutionally conservative, he stayed himself upon the established principles of American liberty and national policy. The subjects that gave scope to his powers were usually fundamental ones. Great themes exercised his greatness. He was a fearful antagonist, if compelled to vindicate his own opinions, and descend into the arena of personal con-

flict. His *reply* to Colonel Hayne, has nothing superior in the whole history of parliamentary gladiatorship.[1] His *rejoinder* to Colonel Hayne is equally celebrated as a specimen of close, succinct, unanswerable ratiocination. Mr. Webster was ordinarily concise. He spoke to the point. He did not "draw out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument." He respected his subject as well as himself. His presence excited awe in a deliberative body. Although generally slow and distinct in his enunciations, his great thoughts came out as fast as the most attentive audience could follow them. His eloquence belonged to the North, rather than to the South or the West; but it received homage from all sections of country, from all classes of society, and from all orders of intellect. There was nothing pro-

[1] The writer happened to be travelling at the South when this debate occurred. After reading the speech of Colonel Hayne, he felt that the North had received a terrible castigation, and was held up to the derision of the Republic. Nor did it seem possible, even for Webster, to turn that tremendous attack. On arriving at Augusta, Ga., the whole town was talking of Mr. Webster's reply, which was everywhere pronounced *triumphant*. Nothing but *reading* the reply satisfied me that the people had given a true judgment. On arriving at Charleston, Colonel Hayne's residence, the same judgment was freely rendered. The following is an extract from the speech of the Hon. R. Barnwell Rhett, recently delivered before the Charleston bar, on the occasion of Mr. Webster's death: "As an orator, he lives in his speech on Foote's resolutions, *the greatest oratorical effort ever made by an American statesman.*" This speech of Mr. Webster will be found in vol. iii. of his Works.

vincial about it. On the contrary, it was pure, elevated, human, Anglo-Saxon. The oratory of Webster will go down to posterity with applause. In the monumental column of the world's eloquence, formed by the contributions to the illustrious of all ages, the name of the Massachusetts Senator will appear with those of Demosthenes, and Cicero, and Burke, and Fox, and Patrick Henry and Clay; and if any stones in the column have a brighter polish, or more external beauty, not Grecian marble itself will attract more eyes than the enduring granite, inscribed with WEBSTER.

The aptitude of a noble mind is a pleasing exhibition of the various endowments God has given to human nature. We have contemplated Jurist — Statesman — Orator — these three; but *Writer* completes the square on which is demonstrated the entire problem of Webster's mysterious greatness.

The remark about to be made may excite at first surprise, but it will stand the test of examination: — that the English language does not exhibit purer and more classic models of efficient literature than Daniel Webster's addresses at Plymouth Rock, at Bunker Hill, and in commemoration of Adams and Jefferson. These alone would immortalize any man. They are better known throughout the United States than any similar productions of human genius. They are the familiar orations in schools, academies, and colleges, to develop, and to develop nobly, the elocution of the

young men of our country; and they will contribute, throughout all coming generations, to form the taste, the style, and the thoughts, of American statesmen and public speakers. May I be allowed to introduce here an extract from his Bunker Hill Oration?

"We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence; and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it forever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced by the same events on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must be forever dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, rising toward heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object to the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden his who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise! let it rise! till it meet the sun in his coming! — let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit!"

Let Mr. Webster's orations be carefully and critically examined, and there will be found pure, vigor-

ous diction; a style which, whilst it is neither elaborately ornate nor carelessly free, conveys with elegant precision the simplicity of truth; thoughts grand and inspiring; pleasing, classical, and appropriate illustrations; minute and copious learning; graphic description; a reverence for God and for the solemn things of religion; all interwoven with passages of sublimity and beauty, and compacted in the texture of finished literature.

Mr. Webster's writings properly include his whole works. By these his reputation is to be tested. His literary orations, his Congressional speeches, his legal arguments, his occasional addresses, his diplomatic and official papers, his miscellaneous letters, form a unity of mental achievement which cannot fail in all future time to command admiration. The specimens given to the public of Mr. Webster's easy, off-hand, familiar letter-writing, are equal to anything of the kind that has ever appeared. The variety of the subjects in Mr. Webster's works is as remarkable as the general excellence which marks the treatment of them all.

One thing about Mr. Webster's writings is a fortunate attainment. I refer to his love of pure, old, strong words. No man has done more to retain the Saxon element in our literature. In his speeches, writings, and conversation, Daniel Webster was true to his mother tongue. To use one of his own allu-

sions at the Royal Agricultural Society in England, he loved "*the kith and kin of the old Saxon race.*"[1]

Daniel Webster's works have recently been published in six splendid octavo volumes. They are the repositories of great thoughts on great subjects expressed in great words. Mr. Everett states that, in preparing the works of Mr. Webster for the press, almost everything was left to his editorial discretion in matters of taste. But one thing Mr. Webster enjoined. "My friend," said he, "I wish to perpetuate no feuds. . . . I have sometimes, though rarely, and that in self-defence, been led to speak of others with severity. I beg you, where you can do it without wholly changing the character of the speech, and thus doing essential injustice to me, to obliterate every trait of personality of this kind." Mr. Everett well adds: "But I need not tell you, fellow-citizens, that there is no one of our distinguished public men, whose speeches contain less occasion for such an injunction." Mr. Webster's writings are pervaded with high moral sentiment, and with references to sacred subjects adapted to impress the mind with reverence. In the language of one of his friends[2] to the citizens of Springfield, Massachusetts:

"It is fortunate for us and for posterity that so many of his speeches have been so well preserved; and that his works have been collected and published while he lived to superintend the

[1] Vol. i., p. 438.

[2] Reuben A. Chapman, Esq.

publication, and to adorn them with such exquisitely beautiful and touching dedications to those relations for whom he felt so warm an affection. Those works, and others which will yet be added, are of the richest treasures of the country. There is yet one — a history of the Administration of Washington, which he had long been engaged to some extent in preparing, but which it is to be feared is left incomplete. No man was so competent to write this history as he; for he knew all the history of this country by heart. He once remarked of himself, that it was but a little that he knew; but if he knew anything, it was the history of this country. He added, that at the age of fourteen years he became interested in the study of this history, and had never lost that interest, nor ceased to make it a study."

Daniel Webster's Works will serve admirably to increase and to perpetuate his reputation. Whilst they are splendid contributions to American literature, they are guardians, for posterity, of his fame as Jurist, Statesman, Orator, and Writer.

III. Having attempted to form an estimate of Mr. Webster in the prominent varieties of his public life, let us turn to his more private and social traits of character, and to the solemn scenes of his death.

It is acknowledged by all that Mr. Webster's greatness shone in the social circle no less than in public life. Though not as readily accessible as some men, and having an appearance, which might, at times, be called dignity, and, at times, reserve, he had nevertheless a large, social heart, which beat true in its friendships, and which was generous and warm in its affections.

A writer, who knew him well, thus remarks of his more familiar intercourse:[1]

"Mr. Webster was never seen to more advantage than within his own household, at the family board, or in strolling with him over his farm at Marshfield, or standing with him upon the sea-beach and looking out upon the ocean before us, which, like the scope of his intellectual vision, appeared boundless.

"We have enjoyed these things, and there are no events in our life in which we have experienced more pleasure. As we write, they involuntarily rise before us, like blessed visions of other and better days. To hear him converse upon the past, the present, the future, in a familiar, colloquial manner, to listen to his great thoughts expressed in the purest words of our language, and wonder how he could thus speak and think, are joys which we can find no words to express.

"His fund of anecdote and of personal reminiscence was inexhaustible. No one could start a subject, relating to history, and especially to American Congressional life, about which he could not relate some anecdote connected with some of the principal characters, which, when told, would throw additional light upon the narrative, and illustrate some prominent trait in the characters of the persons engaged in the transaction. This great gift he possessed in a degree unsurpassed. Mr. WEBSTER's 'table talk' was fully equal to any of his more elaborate efforts in the Senate. He could talk, to use a somewhat misnomeric expression, as well as he could speak. He had a keen sense of the ludicrous, and loved and appreciated nice touches of eccentric humour."

The manner in which Mr. Webster was accustomed to speak and write of his father and mother, his sisters and brothers, his wife and children, indicates the true sensibilities of his nature. The following language

[1] In the *Boston Atlas.*

of one of his friends[1] beautifully expresses the sentiments, doubtless, of all who knew him.

"Upon a near and familiar approach to most great men, they dwindle to the size of common men. Their greatness is only seen on special occasions, and after much preparation. But he, though familiar and frank as a child, though never attempting to display his superiority, appeared greatest in his most familiar and careless conversation. It may be said of him, as travellers say of the Pyramids, that one can only appreciate their full size when standing at their base. I have heard in his private conversation, higher specimens of eloquence than his published works contain.

"Great as his powers of argument and eloquence were, that which gives the brightest lustre to all his public addresses, is the lofty tone of moral purity that pervades them. This moral purity of sentiment was founded in a reverence for God and for the Christian religion. His private conversation, his most intimate friends testify, was never blemished by a profane, irreverent, indecent, or unseemly expression."

Mr. Webster had a strong sympathy with nature. The works of creation afforded relaxation and delight to his mind. A taste for agricultural pursuits, which was early sown in the rich mould of his genial nature, was cultivated, as he had opportunity, and yielded harvests of enjoyment in his summer and autumnal years. In his speech on the agriculture of England, delivered at Boston, in 1840, he commenced by saying:

"Mr. Chairman: I would observe in the outset of

[1] Reuben A. Chapman, Esq., in his address before the Springfield bar, Massachusetts.

these remarks, that I regard agriculture as the leading interest of society; and as having, in all its relations, a direct and intimate bearing upon human comfort and national prosperity. *I have been familiar with its operations in my youth;* and I have always looked upon the subject with a lively and deep interest." [1]

About the year 1825, Mr. Webster purchased a part of his Marshfield estate, which he afterwards enlarged by other purchases until the farm included about 2000 acres, "extending from a beach at the north, nearly two miles in length, on which the ocean dashes its ever-rolling waves, to a low range of picturesque hills on the south and southwest." This large plantation embraced every variety of upland and lowland; and although much indebted to nature, it owed more to the laborious, reclaiming processes of a scientific and masterly agriculture. Mr. Webster attended by personal oversight to the practical working and general management of his farm. Thus, in his letter to *John Taylor*, he gives the following directions about one of his farms, whilst attending, at Washington, as Secretary of State, to the great political interests of the nation:

WASHINGTON, *March* 17, 1852.

JOHN TAYLOR: Go ahead. The heart of the Winter is broken, and before the first day of April, all your land may be

[1] Webster's Works, vol. i., page 443.

ploughed. Buy the oxen of Captain Marston, if you think the price fair. Pay for the hay. I send you a check for $160, for these two objects. Put the great oxen in a condition to be turned out and fattened. You have a good horse-team; and I think in addition to this, four oxen and a pair of four-year-old steers will do your work. If you think so, then dispose of the Stevens oxen, or unyoke them, and send them to the pasture for beef. I know not when I shall see you, but I hope before planting. If you need anything, such as guano, for instance, write to Joseph Buck, Esq., Boston, and he will send it to you.

Whatever ground you sow or plant, see that is in good condition. We want no *pennyroyal crops*. "A little farm well tilled," is to a farmer the next best thing to a "little wife well willed." Cultivate your garden. Be sure to produce sufficient quantities of useful vegetables.

Mr. Webster was interested in agriculture, mind and heart and soul. Thoroughly conversant with its philosophical principles, he was also an enthusiast in their practical application. His crops were large; the pastures kept in good order; drainage thoroughly attended to; the agricultural implements of the best description; the cattle of a superior quality; in short, the Marshfield estate presented an example of thorough, prosperous, intelligent management.

Mr. Webster paid particular attention to his cattle. He loved a fine animal, and knew wherein consisted its good points. He was an excellent judge of stock. Among his numerous animals of foreign blood, were Devons, Alderneys, Ayrshires, Hertfordshires, and Durhams. His interest in these amounted almost to a friendship. It is an affecting incident that, during

his last sickness, he ordered his favourite herds to be driven up towards the house, in a position to be seen from his window; and there, for the last time, his admiring eye looked upon their well-bred proportions of beauty and strength.

Mr. Webster's address on "the agriculture of England," to which allusion has been made, contains a large amount of useful matter. Beginning with the primary elements which enter into the consideration of the agriculture of a country, which he defined to be four, — "climate, soil, price of land, and price of labor"—he makes some general remarks on each, and then goes on to discuss a great variety of practical questions of the highest interest to American agriculturists. The address contains a mass of agricultural information, compact as a rich wheat-field, and goldened all over with the natural color of his ripe literature. It concludes as follows:

"Agriculture feeds us; to a great degree it clothes us; without it we should not have manufactures, and we could not have commerce. These all stand together, but they stand together like pillars in a cluster, the largest in the centre, and that largest is agriculture. Let us remember, too, that we live in a country of small farms and freehold tenements; a country in which men cultivate with their own hands their own fee-simple acres, drawing not only their subsistence, but also their spirit of independence and manly freedom, from the ground they plough. They are at once its owners, its cultivators, and its defenders. And whatever else may be undervalued or overlooked, let us never forget that the cultivation of the earth is the most important labor of man. Man may be civilized, in some degree, without great progress in manufactures and with little commerce with his

distant neighbors. But without the cultivation of the earth, he is, in all countries, a savage. Until he gives up the chase, and fixes himself in some place and seeks a living from the earth, he is a roaming barbarian. When tillage begins, other arts follow. The farmers, therefore, are the founders of human civilization."

Mr. Webster's general information on the branches of knowledge, which are cognate to agriculture, was extensive. He understood a good deal of chemistry, botany,[1] natural history, mineralogy, geology. No branch of learning was alien to him, as an agriculturist.

Mr. Webster's recreations were of the out-door kind. He loved fishing, gunning, riding, walking, sailing. His boat, which was called the "Home Squadron," often tested his skill at navigation. In these recreations he was hearty, and *up to any one* in skill and enjoyment. His habits of early rising gave him a long day, and no man had a better right to pleasant relaxation. He ever delighted in

"The breezy call of incense-breathing morn;"

and the exhilaration of the early sun was spread through the habits of his life, whether at Washington or on his farm.

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[1] The writer remembers his astonishment, many years ago, when, in walking about his father's grounds in Albany, with this statesman (the only character in which he was then known to me), Mr Webster seemed perfectly familiar with every variety of trees, some of which were rare, and referred to Michaux' North American Sylva, and other standard works on botany, as he would to Vattel's Law of Nations.

His mansion, with all its sights and associations, was Websterian. It is a large, massive structure, combining the antique and the modern, raised upon a knoll above the general outline of the surrounding scenery, in full view of the rolling sea, and in the midst of the associations of Pilgrim history and the remnants of Pilgrim graves.[1] Its internal arrangements are those of convenience and taste, with plenty of room for friends, a large library, and the miscellaneous appurtenances of a gentleman-farmer's home, specially adorned with a collection of medals, voted to General Washington by the old Congress.[2]

Yonder magnificent elm, which stands near the mansion, and which has seen a century of storms, sheltered its proprietor for the last time, about a fortnight before his death. Going out to reciprocate the salutations of a wedding-party who had called to see him, he returned after a few minutes into the house; leaving his last footmark upon his beloved Marshfield

[1] Plymouth Rock is about twenty miles off, and on a clear day the scene of the Mayflower's landing may be discerned. The graveyard, where many of the early colonists of the parish were buried, is within a mile of the mansion. Here is the grave of Governor Winslow, and also of Peregrine White, the first-born child of the Colony. Near by, stood the old parish church, built next after that of Plymouth.

[2] These medals were offered to Congress; but that body being slow to purchase them, they were presented by private liberality to Mr. Webster's family. Since the death of the great WASHINGTONIAN, are they not to be deposited with some national institution?

farm, and taking the last out-door glance upon its beautiful and variegated outline.

Would that a man, so great, had borne through life a consistent religious character! Here his greatness, alas! fails. Whatever may have been latterly his religious feelings and exercises, his moral example cannot be held up to the unqualified admiration of American youth.

The great question, after all, that decides human character and destiny is, "*Was he religious?*" That many have entertained doubts in reference to the religious character of the distinguished man who has now ended his earthly probation, is an admission due to truth. It is not denied, and ought not to be concealed, that Mr. Webster's character during periods of his lifetime, suffered serious loss from charges of immorality. To what extent these were true, or false, it is impossible to affirm; doubtless they were much exaggerated. And who can say that the delinquencies charged were not either backslidings from general Christian steadfastness, or sins repented of in the later exercises of his soul, and washed away by the blood of an atoning Saviour?

There are certainly many interesting illustrations of the strength of the religious sentiment in the mind and conscience of the great statesman. His early religious training, under the parental roof, was thorough and enduring in its impressions. He ac-

quired a taste and reverence for the Bible which never forsook him, and committed to memory the Catechism and the larger portion of Watts's Psalms and Hymns. Under the care of Dr. Abbott of Exeter Academy, and of Dr. Wood of Boscawen, his religious convictions must have been cultivated and strengthened. In his college course, Dr. Shurtleff testifies to the fidelity with which he discharged his general duties, and to the undeviating strictness of his moral character. When he taught school at Fryeburg, Dr. Osgood, who lived in the same house with him, says that he was a professor of religion, and even had thoughts of entering the ministry. His first wife was the pious daughter of a Congregational clergyman. So far, all betokens well. Evangelical religion, deeply rooted in his mind, seems to have been exerting also a practical influence on his life.

After Mr. Webster's settlement in Boston, few particulars about his religious sentiments and habits have been divulged to the public. It is well known, that at this time, or shortly after, the great mass of the educated and influential professional men of the city, were Unitarians. Almost all the old churches had departed from the ancient faith of New England, and Park Street Church was not yet founded. It is stated, in one of the papers, that Mr. Webster attended the Brattle Street Church—Unitarian—for sixteen years. Unitarianism at that time, however, was in a com-

paratively latent form, and many persons attended the old churches, partly from choice, and partly from necessity, who never enrolled themselves as Unitarians. Certainly Daniel Webster has never been claimed as a Unitarian. He was always a believer in the divinity of Christ, and in the fundamental doctrines of the Evangelical Faith. An orthodox Congregational clergyman, who had charge of a parish to which Mr. Webster formerly belonged, says that, upon one occasion, the distinguished statesman "spoke of how the cause of orthodoxy was protected in the north of Boston by the indefatigable Dr. Morse, of Charlestown," a man who was "always thinking, always reading, always writing, always preaching, always acting"—of the Rev. Dr. Codman, "who maintained the cause at the south, at Dorchester, and of other clergymen of that day." Mr. Webster, on becoming an inhabitant of Dorchester, where he spent the summer for a number of years, called upon Dr. Codman, and, in the course of the conversation, he remarked: "Sir, I am come to be one of your parishioners, not one of your fashionable ones, but you will find me in my seat both in the morning and afternoon."

Mr. Webster, in the latter years of his life, attended the Episcopal Church, of which his wife was a member. He himself had joined the Congregational Church, in Salisbury, in early life; and this accounts

for the fact, that he occasionally partook of the sacrament, where he happened to be, with members of different denominations. Such acts show the powerful, indwelling sense of the claims of religion; and as he was the farthest possible removed from hypocrisy, they are the expressions of a sincere belief in the doctrines and requirements of the Gospel.

For the last two years of his life, the great statesman seems to have given himself up more and more to religious duties. The Rev. Dr. Shurtleff, of Dartmouth College, in referring to the subject,[1] "spoke of his last interview with Mr. Webster in Boston, about two years ago, at his (Mr. Webster's) invitation. Knowing that great men are liable, from their position, to fail of receiving personal exhortation from the clergy, he resolved to do that duty which early intimacy, and as pastor in the college for a long period, made fit. He did so, and found Mr. Webster not only kindly disposed, but even anticipating him in the free communication of his personal religious feelings. Dr. Shurtleff said: 'I found his views of Christian doctrine and the claims of Christian duty perfectly coincident with my own.'"

There are many other concurrent testimonies to the same purport. The pastor of the Orthodox Church in Marshfield, unequivocally expresses an entire con-

[1] At a late meeting of the officers and students of Dartmouth College.

fidence in Mr. Webster's religious character. In the address at the funeral, reference is made to his habit of engaging, at least at times, in family worship; and the pastor applies to Mr. Webster these words: "I am bound to say, that in the course of my life, I never met with an individual, in any profession or condition, who always spoke and always thought with such awful reverence of the power and presence of God. No irreverence, no lightness, even no too familiar allusions to God and his attributes, ever escaped his lips." "Those who knew him best, can most truly appreciate the lessons, both from his lips and his example, teaching the sustaining power of the Gospel."

In the light of these various evidences, especially when viewed in their connection with his sound training in the faith and his early attention to religion, the hope may be charitably indulged, that Daniel Webster relied for salvation upon the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ;[1] and yet a little child, or a poor slave, may, in the kingdom of God, be greater than he.

[1] The caution of the writer in speaking on this subject, may seem excessive, and even repulsive to those whose views of religious truth are more lax than the Westminster standards. I have, however, according to my own religious convictions, alluded to this solemn and delicate question, and endeavored to obey the claims of Christian charity. There are persons, on the opposite extreme, who will doubtless censure even the expression of a hope. I trust that the language employed will not, on the whole, offend many of the followers of Christ. God alone knows the heart. This prerogative the writer has not attempted to invade.

The hope of his religious character is strongest when we approach his dying bed, and behold him in the hour when heart and flesh fail.

The startling intelligence is brought that the great statesman is dying! Disease is invading the frame which God built for the abode of living greatness. The body is but dust, but dust in mysterious glory! "It is said that when Thorwaldsen, the Danish sculptor, was residing in Rome, he visited the studio of our countryman, Powers. In looking about the room, he discovered a plaster cast of Webster. He inquired, with surprise, whether it could be possible that it was the actual representation of any man; and after a long and careful examination, he pronounced it superior to the highest conception of mental strength and dignity which the ancients had been able to express in their busts of Jupiter." That wonder-compelling cast, though brittle, is to outlive the majestic head that gave it form. The cheek, which once corresponded with its outline, is now wan and shrunken with disease. The arch of his massive, intellectual brow, is already shaken by the failing keystone of life. The "large, black, solemn-looking eye," alone shines with unabated strength, lighting up the impending ruin, and casting rays which will soon, in expiring, render the darkness more visible. Ah! Immortal Orator! Art thou on the bed of death? Heaven sustain thee there! The terrific work of

bodily destruction is going forward under the arrangements of that Providence which is concerned in all births, all lives, all deaths. Let us approach the scene with awe; and may God be with us when our own time shall come!

On Thursday morning, Mr. Webster despatched his last public business; in the afternoon, gave some directions about his farm; and in the evening, executed his will, which had been previously prepared. "During all these transactions, and throughout the whole evening, Mr. Webster showed an entire self-possession, and the most perfect composure and clearness of all his faculties, speaking with his peculiar aptness of phraseology, words of kindness and consolation to those around him, and expressing religious sentiments, appropriate to his condition, with the greatest simplicity and earnestness. His voice was as clear and distinct as it ever was, and his mind showed constant evidence of those qualities of exactness and power which had so strongly characterized his career."

On Friday afternoon, he asked to have the people employed in his family and upon his farm, called in; and after giving them much earnest advice upon matters temporal and spiritual, he bade them a last farewell.

On Saturday evening, being told that his end was approaching, he summoned, first the female members of his family, and then the male; and addressing to them appropriate words of farewell, and of religious

consolation, bade adieu to them for ever. In the course of these interviews, he remarked: "What would be the condition of any of us without the hope of immortality? What is there to rest that hope upon but the gospel?" [1] He also remarked: "My general wish on earth has been to do my Maker's will. I thank him, I thank him for the means of doing some little good; for these beloved objects, for the blessings that surround me, for my nature and associations. I thank him that I am to die under so many circumstances of love and affection." [1]

Shortly after the interviews with his relatives and friends, as if speaking to himself, he said: "On the 24th of October, all that is mortal of Daniel Webster will be no more."

He now prayed in his natural, usual voice—strong, full, and clear—ending with, "HEAVENLY FATHER, FORGIVE MY SINS, AND RECEIVE ME TO THYSELF, THROUGH JESUS CHRIST."

Conversing with great exactness, he seemed to be anxious to be able to mark to himself the final period of his dissolution.

He was answered that it might occur in one, two, or three hours, but that the time could not be definitely calculated.

"Then," said Mr. Webster, "I suppose I must lie here quietly till it comes."

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[1] George T. Curtis, Esq.

The retching and vomiting now recurred again; and Dr. Jeffries offered to Mr. Webster something which he hoped might give him ease.

The dying statesman remarked: "Something more, Doctor — more. I want restoration."

Between ten and eleven o'clock, he repeated, somewhat indistinctly, the words, "Poet, poetry — Gray, Gray."

Mr. Fletcher Webster repeated the first line of the elegy — "The Curfew tolls the knell of parting day."

"That's it, that's it," said Mr. Webster; and the book was brought and some stanzas read to him, which seemed to give him pleasure.

From twelve o'clock till two, there was much restlessness, but not much suffering; the physicians were quite confident that there was no actual pain.

A faintness occurred, which led him to think that his death was at hand. While in this condition, some expressions fell from him, indicating the hope that his mind would remain to him completely until the last.

He spake of the difficulty of the process of dying, when Dr. Jeffries repeated the verse:

"Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me — thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me."

Mr. Webster said immediately: "The fact — the

fact! That is what I want! Thy rod — thy rod! thy staff — thy staff!"

Only once more did he speak after this. On arousing from a deep sleep, he uttered the words: "I STILL LIVE." The close was perfectly tranquil and easy. He died on the 24th of October, about a quarter before 3 o'clock, in the morning.

Thus, by a beautiful coincidence, his departure occurred early in his own favorite part of the day — early in the *morning*. In his letter, on this topic, he said: "I know the morning — I am acquainted with it, and love it." We trust that, through the infinite grace of Christ, he had reason to love that last morning, and that its light was to him, spiritually, "as the light of the morning *when the sun riseth*, even A MORNING WITHOUT CLOUDS!"

IV. As Christians, and as citizens, it becomes us to endeavor to search out some of the LESSONS OF PROVIDENCE, in the light and gloom of the grave of Webster.

1. Let us THANK GOD FOR RAISING UP SUCH MEN, in His providence, and LOOK TO HIM FOR THEIR SUCCESSION.

Webster came from the hands of God. His vast intellect, in fitting union with a noble frame, was workmanship Divine. His life, although not free from censure, and in nothing perfect, has left influences so generally favorable to our national prosperity,

that a thankful acknowledgment is due to the Maker and Ruler of all. The mind, which enabled the jurist to plead, the statesman to devise and execute, the orator

"The applause of listening Senates to command,"

that mind, so fertile in resources of power, and so exerted in behalf of his country, her laws, and her rights, was given and sustained in reason to the last, by Him, in whom we all "live, and move, and have our being." Let God have the glory of his genius, his wisdom, his eloquence, his public services, his political influence, and his solemn death.

Whence but from heaven can the succession of such men be expected? To God alone can the nation look for public characters, who shall be equally able and equally willing to serve the United States of America. In time past, God has given to our country great minds as well as great natural landmarks. Bounded with mighty oceans, and coursed by vast rivers, and prairies, and mountains, our land has been the birth-place of Washington, and Franklin, and Henry, and Jefferson, and Adams, and Marshall, and Jay, and many other names of national immortality. But never have appeared simultaneously in American history three statesmen of superior mental greatness to Calhoun, Clay, and Webster. The general mourning, which followed the departure of each from the

theatre of their common fame, shows a nation's estimate of its great public loss. And never was mourning more universal, and less interrupted by party prejudices, than over the last of the three — the Champion of the Constitution. In the beautiful language of one of America's chief poets:[1]

"The great are falling from us; to the dust
Our flag droops midway, full of many sighs;
A nation's glory and a people's trust
Lie in the ample pall where Webster lies.

"The great are falling from us, one by one,
As fall the patriarchs of the forest trees;
The winds shall seek them vainly, and the sun
Gaze on each vacant space for centuries.

"Lo! Carolina mourns her steadfast pine,
Which, like a mainmast, towered above her realm;
And Ashland hears no more the voice divine
From out the branches of her stately elm.

"And Marshfield's giant oak, whose stormy brow
Oft turned the ocean tempest from the west,
Lies on the shore he guarded long: and now
Our startled Eagle knows not where to rest."

But God will continue to give us great men, if we put not undue confidence in them. There are saplings in our American forests which may yet attain to equal elevation with Upland, or Hanover, or Salisbury growth; and the American eagle, when it no more shall find high resting-places for its glory, will

[1] T. Buchanan Read.

soar away into heaven and die in the light of the dazzling sun.

2. The influence of EARLY RELIGIOUS TRAINING and of ASSOCIATION in the formation of character is one of the plainest inferences.

Daniel Webster was well trained and well associated all his early years. He was cradled, and nurtured, and fellowshipped by the wise and good. Few men have had better influences to grow up under than the Salisbury boy, until after he left his Fryeburg retirement, and came to Boston. Early education marked its traces upon his character, distinctly visible. Like the even flow of a crystal current wearing into the rock of the mountain, his training wrought into the solid range of his thought and soul. Fathers! mothers! take care of your children! Without thorough religious influences, there is little hope of future restraint upon their passions, or of the right application of their talents. Unattended to in their early days, your sons will grow up to become like the deceitful brook — dry in the season of need, and pouring down wild torrents in every storm.

3. The value of an ACADEMICAL AND COLLEGIATE EDUCATION is another important lesson.

If Daniel Webster had not been furnished with the discipline of a complete education, his mind never could have received that intellectual expansion which made him so great among his fellows. The academy

and college are the workshops of busy minds. He was early indentured to his profession, and acquired his civil and political skill from lessons in the ancient classics, in philosophy, history, and literature, and from the mind-sharpening processes of youthful competition and industry. The rule of greatness is early diligence and acquirement. There are indeed exceptions to this rule, but never exceptions like unto Daniel Webster. Such men are men of trained attainment, of early-wrought cultivation; not left to the rare contingency of self-development, but nurtured out by the skilful influence of preparatory study, mental discipline, and learned acquisition. Our academies and colleges are the training-places of able public and professional men. Let them be sustained and multiplied! Let learning be honored!

4. A great encouragement is presented in the life of Daniel Webster to the LAUDABLE ASPIRINGS OF YOUNG MEN IN HONEST POVERTY.

Ambition, misdirected and earthly, is a curse to the soul that harbors it. But there is a pure and commendable desire *to do one's best*, which is alike the dictate of patriotism and of Christianity. Webster once engaged in the commonest employments among men. Reputable but lowly, his intellect and perseverance elevated him to the highest stations and honors of his country. Many a common school-boy will feel the influence of his example; many a stu-

dent of Dartmouth and other American colleges will be stimulated by the rising fortunes of the farmer's son; and many a teacher, toiling over the double work of instructing others and of self-instruction, will gain energy from the scenes of Fryeburg, which led up to the heights of legal and political distinction. All, of every condition and age, may learn from Webster to do their best for their country. But a right ambition stops not there. And if he failed, in any respect, in the fulness of a true example, let all remember that it is our duty to do our best for our country and FOR OUR GOD.

> "Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
> Thy God's, and truth's."

5. THE CAPRICIOUSNESS OF PUBLIC OPINION is one of the truths of the occasion.

Public men cannot count upon a full reward of their eminent services at the tribunal of popular favor. This life is a life of discipline; and none need its trials and disappointments more than those who mingle in the great scenes of the world's affairs. Nor are any more sure of experiencing disappointments in large, embittering measures. Every statesman at times is made to realize the capriciousness of public opinion, and

> "Finds the people strangely fantasied."

Mr. Webster received many testimonies of high na-

tional homage, and yet the highest was given not to him, but to far inferior men. It is no departure from truth to say that Harrison and Taylor never once breathed the intellectual inspirations which were the daily motions of Webster's soul. And yet such men were preferred before him. But no fame of theirs,— though the fame of battles and of victories, — can equal the triumphs of genius, wrought by thee, Statesman, Jurist, and Orator, of a deathless renown! Thou wast spared the sight of the last contest, and the fruitless efforts of a faithful few! *God himself withdrew* thy illustrious name from the struggle, wrapping thee away from the dust of an inglorious arena in the majestic pall of a statesman's mantle!

6. THE HOMAGE PAID BY INTELLECT TO CHRISTIANITY is illustrated in the life of this great man.

Mr. Webster's public speeches and addresses, throughout out his whole career, are pervaded with religious thought, and the acknowledgment of Christianity. It is stated by his Marshfield pastor that he contemplated writing a book on the Evidences of Christianity, so much interest did he entertain in that great subject. Behold, then, another great name added to the long list of those whose highly cultivated intellects sustain the religion of Jesus Christ on its external and internal evidences. Let the sceptic pause in view of the confounding testimony of such an array of minds, capable of far-reaching discrimi-

nation, of severe investigation, and patient deduction of truthful conclusions.

Among Mr. Webster's many public declarations in homage of religion, are the following sentences of an address delivered in commemoration of his old friend and compeer, Jeremiah Mason:

"But, Sir, political eminence and professional fame fade away and die with all things earthly. Nothing of character is really permanent but virtue and personal worth. These remain. Whatever of excellence is wrought into the soul itself belongs to both worlds. Real goodness does not attach itself merely to this life; it points to another world. Political or professional reputation cannot last forever; but a conscience void of offence before God and man, is an inheritance for eternity. *Religion*, therefore, is a necessary and indispensable element in any great human charecter. There is no living without it. Religion is the tie that connects man with his Creator, and holds him to his throne. If that tie be all sundered, all broken, he floats away, a worthless atom in the universe, its proper attractions all gone, its destiny thwarted, and its whole future nothing but darkness, desolation, and death. A man with no sense of religious duty is he whom the Scriptures describe, in such terse but terrific language, as living 'without God in the world.' Such a man is out of his proper being, out of the circle of all his duties, out of the circle of all his happiness, and away, far, far away, from the purposes of his creation."

7. The end of earthly greatness is seen at the Marshfield grave.

There is an appointed season unto man of life and of death. Both his soul and his dust are under providential doom; and generation after generation passes away, amidst crumbling thrones and universal

instability. Human elevation, at best a tottering pinnacle, falls at death.

> "The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
> And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
> Await alike th' inevitable hour:
> The path of glory leads but to the grave."

The death of Webster is the expression of a universal law—of a law which regulates the setting, as well as the rising, of the star of human destiny. This great man, closing his eyes in death, declares, with speechless solemnity, more eloquent than living utterance, that "political and professional reputation cannot last for ever; but a conscience void of offence towards God and man is an inheritance for eternity." "Political eminence and professional fame fade away and die with all things earthly. Nothing of character is really permanent but virtue and personal worth."

8. PERSONAL RELIGION, the highest form of worth, is the true glory and joy of a statesman.

Alas! that the character we have been contemplating should fail in inspiring the same trust in its religious attributes as it commands in its other forms of greatness! If the illustrious statesman had exhibited the transparent and consistent piety of WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, or JOHN JAY, what an amount of service might have been rendered in the spiritual kingdom, as well as in the political world! The example of public men, and especially of great public

men, is influential on a large scale. May God never curse our country with greatness dissevered from goodness! The religion of Jesus Christ, which is the only true basis of individual character, is the only safe support of the State.

Personal piety includes more than an acknowledgment of Christianity as a system of religious belief; it has holier exercises than a mere respect for sacred things; it implies more than an outward morality, however severe. Originating by the grace of God in "faith in our Lord Jesus Christ," it "works by love, purifies the heart, and overcomes the world." Works are the evidence and the expression of faith; and *trust* cannot be sincere, however clear may be *credence*, without the accompanying fruits of *righteousness*. Religion, heartfelt and sustaining, is the want of our nature. The highest attainments of worldly fame can never satisfy the immortal soul. It grasps for something that is divine and enduring. All else is a reed,—brittle and deceitful,—which no one may rest upon in a dying hour. "A *rod*—THY ROD; a *staff*—THY STAFF"—"*that is what we want*" when we go out to walk alone in the valley of the shadow of death.

BATTLE OF LAKE GEORGE.

An Historical Discourse, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the Battle of Lake George, 1755, delivered at the Court House, Caldwell, N. Y., September 8th, 1855.

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE.

Citizens of Warren County and Visitors at the Lake:

The echoes of a hundred years resound throughout the mountain-passes. The roar of provincial cannon thunders amidst the flash of Battle; and, from noon to the setting sun, armies contend for victory on the shore of the peaceful and trembling lake.

To-day the great events of other generations are marshalled by memory into their original order and commanding position; and as Americans, victorious then, as in a greater conflict, we are assembled to commemorate the triumphs of the olden time.—*Eighteen hundred and fifty-five* sends back to *seventeen hundred and fifty-five* the congratulations of a century, over the inheritance deeded and signed on the battle-field of Lake George on the 8th of September.

Lake George and vicinity is the classic ground of the Old French War. Every hill-top threw the shadow of warlike scenes into the lake, and its southern and northern shores were spectators of the decisive events which at length ended in the subjugation of Canada and the prosperity of the old American colo-

nies. A very brief notice of the discovery and antecedent history of the lake, will open to us a view of the Old French War and the battles of a former century. It will be my object, as a sort of ranger, to bring some account to you here, at the old head-quarters, of the events that occurred on this field of historical interest.

The sun and stars of thousands of years have imaged the glory of God in the crystal waters of the beautiful lake. Ages before the Indian tracked his path along the mountains or glided his canoe through the depths of the water-valley, this landscape had reality in all the grace and grandeur of a divine creation. Before Iroquois, or Saxon, or Celt, looked with delight upon the foliage green of the hills, or the emerald green of the lake, nature worshipped here in festival solitude and silence on the altar dedicated to the well-known God. The history of the lake, like the mist that sometimes covers its waters, obscures the far distance.

> . . . "In the horizon of the Past,
> The cloudy summits of lost cycles rise,
> Like cumuli, far onward to the point
> Where distance vanishes in dreaminess."

The Indians were the original and undisputed proprietors of this secluded heritage,—the domain of the Six Nations, or Iroquois, including both this and the adjoining lake on the outskirts of their hunting-

ground. The first European or civilized man who is known to have penetrated this glorious Indian reserve, was the celebrated CHAMPLAIN. In 1609, at the head of an expedition of savages from Canada, against the Iroquois, he ascended the lake which now bears his name; and in his account of the expedition, he refers to the "waterfall" between the two lakes, which he himself "saw," describes this lake as being three or four leagues in length, and mentions the distance from its head to be about four leagues to the river which flows towards the coast of the Almouchiquois, or New England Indians. Having given his own name to the larger lake, which was the scene of his achievements, Champlain was content to bequeath to the lesser lake the renown of his own record and an untitled nobility of nature.

The next European who is known to have traversed these regions, was Father JOGUES, a French Roman Catholic missionary, who, in 1646, was commissioned to ratify the treaty of peace made between the French and the Iroquois. On his way from Canada to the Mohawk, he arrived at the outlet of the smaller lake on the eve of the festival of *Corpus Christi*, or sacrament of the *body of Christ*, and, in commemoration of the event, he gave it the name of St. Sacrament.

From this time not much is known of the annals of the lake, till General William Johnson encamped

upon its shores, with his army of provincial soldiers, in 1755. During the interval, however, it is quite certain that the lake was more or less used as a channel of intercommunication with Canada, both in furtherance of friendly commerce and of hostile military expeditions. When General Johnson reached the lake, he affirms that "*no house was ever before built here, nor a rod of land cleared.*" The ancient trees of the forest welcomed the old soldier in their unbroken and waving battalions, and gave him good ground to encamp upon, good lake-water to quench his thirst, and a good clear sky for his canopy.

The Old French War originated in the long hereditary national animosities between France and England. The British queen and the French monarch exchanged no visits of royal courtesy in those days; and, instead of banquets and feasting at Windsor and Versailles, martial music and the display of arms were everywhere the mutual salutations. The treaty of Utrecht, made in 1713, guaranteed to England all Nova Scotia, with its ancient limits, and to the Five Nations, as subject to Great Britain, the peaceable enjoyment of all their rights and privileges. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, was so indefinite in its terms, that, although a peace was agreed to, on the basis of the treaty of Utrecht, no settlement was made of the difficulty which had given rise to the war in America. There was a vague agreement that

the boundaries in America should remain as they were before the war; but for a quarter of a century before the war the lines had been the subject of perpetual contention. Thus provision may almost be said to have been made by treaty for the speedy opening of a new campaign, and the fires of war were to be rekindled on the very altar of peace. What rendered the indefinite terms of the treaty peculiarly exceptionable and unfortunate, was the fact that the French had erected, in 1721, a fort at Crown Point, within territory always claimed by Great Britain and the Iroquois. So intent, indeed, had France been on territorial aggrandizement, that before the signing of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, she had erected nearly twenty forts, besides block-houses and stockade trading-places, on soil claimed by Great Britain. The peace on her part was merely a truce to prepare more extensive plans of commercial and military operations; and, like the brief interval granted lately for the burial of the dead at Sebastopol, which the Russians employed to strengthen their fortress, so France, at Aix-la-Chapelle, truced England into inactivity, whilst she herself wove the banner of war and burnished her armor for a long campaign. Without regard to treaty stipulations, France commenced prosecuting her schemes of aggrandizement, not only in the American Colo-

nies, but in Nova Scotia, in the East and West Indies, and in the Mediterranean.

The object of France in North America was to obtain possession of the great valley of the West, and to connect Canada and Louisiana by a chain of forts and trading-places, and thus hem in the colonies, and, perhaps, eventually gain possession of them, and secure a communication for Canada with the ocean through New York. When the Ohio Land Company was chartered, in 1749, with a view to the settlement of the territory between the Monongahela and the Kanawha, the Governor-General of Canada sent an armed band of three hundred men down the Ohio Valley, to retain possession of the country in the name of France, and to expel the English traders from its borders. In every practicable manner, the French aimed at maintaining the vantage-ground which English inactivity had enabled them to seize. They attempted to proselyte the Six Nations, to foment disturbances among the Indians in general, to undersell the British traders, to gain possession of Lake Ontario by building a large vessel of war, and still further to increase their power, they had turned their trading-house at Niagara into a fort.

The first blood shed by the French within the limits of the old thirteen colonies, in the Old French War, was at the Indian village of Piqua, in Western Ohio, in the year 1752. A contest which was to

determine the future destiny of the mighty West, thus commenced on its own territory; and its influence was to be felt throughout Europe, in Asia, and in the West Indies, as well as in North America. In 1753. the French detached a body of twelve hundred men to occupy the Ohio Valley, and the Governor of Virginia despatched GEORGE WASHINGTON to protest against the invasion. This brave young man, then only twenty-one years of age, traversed the forests of Maryland and Western Pennsylvania as far as Fort Le Bœuf, which was within a few miles of Lake Erie. The French commander of the forces, LE GARDEUR DE ST. PIERRE, who was afterwards slain at the battle of Lake George, maintained the right of his sovereign to the soil. In 1754, Washington, now a lieutenant-colonel, was sent with a regiment to protect British rights in the West, and to finish the fort at the forks of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers; but, after an engagement with Jumonville, he was compelled to retreat to Fort Necessity, to capitulate, and to withdraw the English garrison to the east of the Alleghanies. France, at this time, was dominant throughout the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, and England had not in the great West a flag to cast even a shadow on the soil.

In June, 1754, the first American Congress met in the city of Albany. Its principal object was to devise measures of defence, and to conciliate the Iroquois

Indians, whose sachems assembled at Albany for conference. This first Congress is famous for the Plan of Union it proposed for all the Colonies on the basis of a Federal Government. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was the author of the measure, which, however, did not meet with sufficient favor to secure a trial at that time. The same illustrious man foresaw the future greatness of the country "back of the Appalachian Mountains," and advised the immediate organization of two colonies in the West — the one on Lake Erie, the other in the valley of the Ohio, with its capital on the banks of the Scioto. Franklin, as a statesman, displayed on this occasion a penetration of intellect as vivid as the lightning which, as a philosopher, was flashed down to him from heaven.

In view of the alarming state of things in the Colonies, England despatched General Braddock, as commander-in-chief, with two regiments of regular troops. War had not yet been openly declared between England and France; but both nations were actively pursuing their belligerent plans in anticipation of a speedy crisis.[1] Braddock arrived in Virginia in the spring of 1755, and summoned a council of the governors of the Colonies at Alexandria. Three expeditions were determined on. The *first*, under Braddock himself, was to march to the Ohio.

[1] War was not declared until the *following year*—by England on the 18th of May, 1756, and by France on the 9th of June.

obtain possession of Fort Duquesne, and then proceed according to circumstances. The *second*, under Governor Shirley, was to reduce Fort Niagara, and to maintain possession of Oswego. The *third*, under General William Johnson, was to take possession of Fort St. Frederick, at Crown Point, and drive the French from the colony of New York. The latter expedition was, perhaps, the most important of the three. The province of New York was more accessible than any other to the enemy; Fort St. Frederick, Fort Niagara, and Fort Presentation, were encroachments upon its immemorial jurisdiction; the province was central to the other provinces; its chief city had the finest harbor on the Atlantic coast; and the council-fires of the Six Nations burned at Onondaga, the head-quarters of these influential and brave tribes of Indians.

The rendezvous of both Shirley's and Johnson's expedition was Albany. Most of the troops designed for Johnson's command arrived there before the end of June, and were obliged to remain for some time in camp, waiting for the artillery, boats, provisions, and other necessaries. In the meanwhile, the provincials became discontented with the inactivity of a long encampment; and Major-General Lyman was obliged to make short marches in the line of destination in order to prevent them from disbanding. When he had advanced to the "great carrying-place,"

he waited for the arrival of General Johnson, and commenced building a fort on the east side of the Hudson, which was afterwards called Fort Edward, "in honour of the second prince of the blood of that name." On the 8th of August, General Johnson set out from Albany, with the artillery and other stores, and reached the "great carrying-place" on the 14th, having been detained two days by some dissatisfaction on the part of the Connecticut troops. On the 22d, a council of war was held to determine what route should be taken to Crown Point; and it was the unanimous opinion of the council that the road to "Lake St. Sacrament appears to them the most eligible, and that it be immediately set about." It was further resolved to send forward two thousand men, to cut the road and to build "a place of arms and magazines" at the head of the lake. In addition to the news of Braddock's defeat, which had reached the army about a month before, the spirits of the troops were now depressed by a report that the French were advancing towards Crown Point in overwhelming numbers; and the Indians declared that the English were no match for them, but must be surely defeated. Johnson writes that he ought to have eight thousand men, and that the reinforcements ought to advance as rapidly as possible.

On the 26th of August, Johnson sets out for Lake St. Sacrament, a distance of about seventeen miles;

and, after three days' marching, reaches there, or rather *here*, on the evening of the 28th. What a sight was such a lake to an army of men that had never before looked upon its mountain-guarded waters! Often did Johnson, and Lyman, and Williams, and Hendrick with their companions-in-arms, gaze with wonder at a scene whose enchantments are fresh with the morning light and renewed with the setting sun.

> "Alas! beside that beauteous wave
> Shall many an unreturning brave
> Find his last bivouac—the grave!
> In his lost home his name grow dim,
> And low woods sigh his requiem!"

The name of the lake was changed by Johnson from St. Sacrament to Lake George, "not only in honour to his majesty, but to ascertain his undoubted dominion here"—a name now become historical, and properly enough commemorative of provincial times, and of the important events that occurred under the reigning king.

The plan of operations arranged by General Johnson was to construct a fort, proceed up the lake with a part of the army, as soon as the boats arrived, and take possession of Ticonderoga; and, waiting there until the rest of the army came up, proceed to attack Crown Point. On the evening of the 7th of September, however, the Indian scouts bring intelligence that they had discovered a large road cut from

South Bay, and were confident that a considerable number of the enemy were marching to the "great carrying-place." Johnson, surprised and perplexed, perhaps doubts the report. About midnight, intelligence comes that the enemy were discovered four miles this side of the "carrying-place." Nothing, however, was done for the safety of Fort Edward until the next morning, when a council was called. In the language of General Johnson, "the Indians were extremely urgent that one thousand men should be detached, and a number of their people would go with them, in order to *catch the enemy* in their retreat from the other camp, either as victors, or defeated in their design."

The enemy proved to be a French force of nearly two thousand men, regulars, Canadians, and Indians, under the command of Baron Dieskau. This French general had arrived at Quebec in the spring, with nearly two thousand regular troops. His original plan was to proceed up the river St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and to capture the fort at Oswego.—But Montreal was so much alarmed, at the news of an English army on its march to Fort Frederick, and perhaps into Canada, that the Baron was importuned to proceed to the defence of Fort Frederick, which he finally consented to do with great reluctance. Having waited some time for the approach of the English army, he determined to go and meet them

himself. His scheme was bold and precise. He was to attack Fort Edward first, which was defended by a garrison of only four hundred men; then to fall upon the camp at Lake George, where victory was supposed to be within his reach, as the camp was reported to be destitute of either artillery or intrenchments; and afterwards desolate Albany and Schenectady, and cut off communication with Oswego. It seems, however, that when Dieskau was within two miles of Fort Edward, the Indians refused to attack it, on account of their peculiar dread of cannon; but, on their declaring a willingness to attack the camp, Dieskau changed his plans and turned towards the lake.

It is Sabbath-day in the provincial camp. The bustle of war does not prevent the arrival of wagons, work at the fort, and preparations for the campaign. But God is not forgotten by all. A venerable chaplain,[1] whose locks are white with age, is seen taking his station in the shade of the forest-trees. He is the chaplain of Williams' regiment, the third regiment of Massachusetts, and Williams is there. With him are Ruggles, and Titcomb, and Whiting, and other officers. The soldiers of New England attend with reverential appearance; and Hendrick and a band of Iroquois loiter in the distance, with their

[1] Rev. Stephen Williams, of Long Meadow, Massachusetts.

eyes turned to the assembly. After singing,—perhaps the 46th psalm, to the tune of "Old Hundred,"—prayer is offered up to the God of their fathers. The Puritan preacher then takes for his text the words of Isaiah: "Which remain among the graves and lodge in the mountains." Were these words, alas! prophetic? Let us turn to the narrative.

The detachment of one thousand provincial troops, despatched to arrest Dieskau's progress and to aid Fort Edward, was commanded by Colonel Ephraim Williams, of Massachusetts. It set out between eight and nine o'clock on Monday morning, and consisted of three divisions. Colonel Williams starts in advance with the first division of five hundred men, halts at Rocky Brook, about half a mile from the place where the attack occurred, and waits for the other divisions under Hendrick and Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting. The Indians soon follow, in command of the great Mohawk chief. Being advanced in years, and corpulent in person, he rides on horseback. Erect in the dignity of a noble Indian presence, the old sachem has cast his last look on the lake, and taken the road into the forest in pursuit of the enemy. During this halt of Colonel Williams, the enemy place themselves in ambuscade. Our party then march forward, the Indians leading the way, and enter the defile. One of the enemy's muskets going off prematurely, they are discovered, and immediately

they commence the attack on our Indians. The war-whoop resounds through the woods, and volleys of musketry from the Abenakis Indians on the left, and from the regulars in front, strew the ground with the dying. The brave old Hendrick falls,—a conspicuous mark to men of unerring aim. The Mohawks, uncertain and alarmed, move back to where Colonel Williams is, a short distance behind; and at the same moment our troops march up to their support. The engagement becomes general. At this time, in the early part of the engagement, Colonel Williams mounts a rock for the purpose of reconnoitering; and, in the act of ordering his men to go higher up the hill on the right, he is immediately shot down. It soon became evident to our officers that the French had posted themselves on both sides of the road for the purpose of surrounding and cutting off the detachment. A retreat was therefore ordered, which was conducted with consummate skill by Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting, of New Haven, who had previously distinguished himself at the taking of Louisburg, Nova Scotia. The firing had been heard at the camp, about two hours after the departure of the detachment. It drew nearer and nearer. Our men were retreating; and General Johnson orders Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, at the head of three hundred men, to cover the retreat, which was accomplished with some success. Although defeated by superior

numbers, our men had fought bravely. Rallying for a short time behind the Bloody Pond, they brought many of the enemy to the earth. It was afterwards found that nearly one half of the killed on both sides had fallen in the desperate preliminary encounter of the morning.

The Americans were encamped about a quarter of a mile from the head of the lake, being protected on either side by a low, thick-wooded swamp. After the march of the detachment, General Johnson drew up some heavy cannon from the margin of the lake, a distance of about five hundred yards from his front. Trees were also felled to form a breastwork, the proper intrenchments having been unaccountably neglected. On some of the eminences to the left, where Fort George now stands, cannon were drawn up and advantageously posted. After these hurried preparations of a few hours, our retreating soldiers come in sight in large bodies, with the enemy in full pursuit. Among those who climb the intrenchments, Hendrick and Williams are not seen. All is confusion. But, behold, Dieskau halts! For nearly fifteen minutes, when within one hundred and fifty yards of the encampment, the French general, instead of making a bold advance upon the lines, which the disorder of the retreating corps might have made successful, is compelled to pause, as though Providence had issued to him a superior command. The

cause of this delay is not fully ascertained. It may have been owing either to the surprise at finding artillery arrayed against him, and the consequent difficulty of bringing the Indians up to the conflict, or it may have been with the view of giving time for the Canadians and Indians to get on either flank, and make a simultaneous attack with the regulars posted on the centre. Whatever was the cause of the delay, it probably lost Dieskau the victory. The provincials had time to rally, and to reduce their plan of defence to better order; and when the French opened their fire, the distance was too great to produce much effect. The artillery of the provincials gave them an advantage in the battle. It was served by Captain William Eyres, an English officer, despatched by General Braddock to accompany the expedition. The battle at the camp began between eleven and twelve o'clock; and the wonder is that the French, with inferior numbers, and without artillery, could sustain the conflict for more than four hours. The attack on the centre by the regulars was obstinately persevered in for more than an hour. This proving unavailing. Dieskau then attacked the right, where, on account of there being no cannon, there seemed a better prospect of success. A heavy loss of the provincials occurred in this quarter, in the regiments of Titcomb. Ruggles, and Pomeroy; but their bravery corresponded with the emergency, and the enemy could

gain no advantage in that direction. In their attempt to pass over the intrenchments, the old-fashioned musket, in the hands of brave New England farmers, did terrible work. The battle on the right raged for nearly two hours, when Dieskau again attacked the front, and then the right and the left, and at last attempted to come in on the rear of the army, when General Lyman, perceiving the danger, ordered some shells to be thrown, which, together with the fire of some thirty-two pounders, made the enemy retire in great disorder. The Indians, who, at an early period in the battle, had taken possession of the rising ground near where Fort William Henry now stands, were soon terrified by shots from a cannon, which was in position on one of the eminences near Fort George. After a long conflict, sustained chiefly by the regulars, the French begin to fly. Victors in the morning, the survivors hurry back at the setting sun, vanquished, wearied, and dreading their doom. Dieskau, severely wounded, is taken prisoner.

As the English neglected to pursue, the French halted about three miles from the camp, near Bloody Pond and Rocky Brook, where the engagement of the morning had been renewed. The halt at this particular spot seems to have been partly owing to the desire of the Indians to obtain plunder, and to secure the scalps of those who had fallen in the early engagement; but it is a busy day, and they must think

of their own scalps. At seven o'clock in the evening, a reinforcement from Fort Edward of two hundred men falls unexpectedly upon them, under the command of Captain William McGinnes, of Schenectady.

After a contest of two hours, our party gained possession of the baggage and ammunition of the French, which was conveyed to the camp the next morning; and the French retreated still farther towards Lake Champlain, having learned the danger of encamping for the night too near their foe.

The victory was decisive. If the enemy had been pursued without delay, the whole body might have been cut off and made prisoners. General Johnson's first error was in neglecting an immediate and vigorous pursuit. General Lyman urged it with unusual vehemence, and the spirit of officers and men, aroused by war and flushed by triumph, was equal to the endurance. When the tide of battle is once turned, it sweeps against the vanquished with terrific impetuosity. If that tide in our affairs had been taken at its flood, it might have led our army to the double fortune of a victory on the battle-field and the capture of the enemy in their flight. Instead of pursuing, our army retired to their encampment on the shores of the tideless lake, content, like it, with repose after the surges of the day. General Johnson excused his conduct by the plea that he had reason to expect a renewal of the attack, and that it was

dangerous to weaken the main body by detachments to scour the country. But the enemy was in no condition to rally after the loss of their General and of almost all the regular soldiers; and the true way to strengthen the main position of the victors was to take advantage of the enemy's defeat by throwing out detachments to cut them off before reaching their boats on Lake Champlain. The enemy were far more fatigued than the Americans, in consequence of their forced marches towards the camp; and there can be little doubt that, had the opinion of General Lyman and other officers prevailed, Dieskau's band would never have seen Ticonderoga or Fort St. Frederick.

General Johnson's second capital error was in not carrying forward with alacrity the immediate object of his expedition—which was the reduction of Crown Point. The idea seems early to have gained entrance into the General's mind, that the victory at Lake George was glory enough for one campaign. Only ten days after the battle, on the 18th, he writes that it is doubtful whether the expedition can advance to Ticonderoga this year. At a council of war, however, held four days later, the officers unanimously decided that it was best to proceed as soon as the expected reinforcements had arrived. Governor Shirley remonstrated with Johnson against his reluctance to push forward his army, and, in a letter to him dated the 25th of September, says: "If nothing

further could be done in this campaign than gaining Ticonderoga, yet that would be carrying a great point for the protection of the country behind, this year, and facilitation of the reduction of Fort St. Frederick the next spring."

Whilst waiting for reinforcements, it was decided to build a fort — the officers being in favour of a small stockade fort, capable of holding one hundred men, whilst Johnson desired the erection of a large one, capable of defence against an army with artillery. Finally, Johnson's plan was adopted. The months of September and October passed away in sending out scouts and in fort-building, until the men became dispirited, wearied, and desirous of returning home. Towards the end of October, the council of officers decided that, on account of the lateness of the season, the disaffection of the soldiers, and the want of supplies, it was inexpedient to proceed with the expedition. At this time there were four thousand five hundred men in the camp. The great objects of the army were thus unaccomplished; and, instead of occupying Ticonderoga, which of itself would have been an important position in advance, the delay enabled the enemy to gain possession of it and fortify it, greatly to our subsequent loss and disadvantage.

Notwithstanding General Johnson's apparent errors in not taking full advantage of his victory, it is certain that the battle of Lake George has points of

honourable distinction, worthy of a centennial commemoration.

Considering its time and circumstances, the battle of Lake George had a number of distinguished men to give character to the conflict. On the side of the enemy, who took the aggressive on the occasion, was Baron de Dieskau, an officer of some distinction in the armies of France. He had been selected as a commander able to take charge of the important work of superintending the military operations of the empire in the Western World. "Boldness wins" was Dieskau's maxim. This he exemplified, at least in part, in marching with about two thousand men to find the enemy, and into the very centre of our military operations. Fortunately for us, "boldness" did not "win" on that occasion. Dieskau, at the head of his forces, employs in vain strategy and military skill. The language of France and its crown-lilies of white are unheeded and dishonoured in the forests of America. The brave general receives a deadly wound; and he who had rallied battalions on the fields of Europe, and had sailed up the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain with the ambition to win a fame in the New World, sits upon a stump, in the midst of his slain, with hopes blasted, projects thwarted, army defeated, wounded in body and in spirit, and with the doom of death darkly before his eye. Dieskau, after his capture, informed General Johnson that,

only a few hours before, he had written to the Governor-General of Canada that he was driving the English before him like sheep, and that he expected that night to lodge in General Johnson's tent. The expectation was verified; as prisoner, and not victor, Dieskau entered the American camp; and, instead of the congratulations of victory, he received the honest sympathies of American soldiers towards a defeated and wounded general, carried within their intrenchments on a blanket. After the lapse of a century, those sympathies remain fresh and unimpaired. Honour to the memory of the gallant and unfortunate Dieskau!

Another of the distinguished men in the French army was Le Gardeur de St. Pierre. He was a brave officer, and remarkable for the zeal and energy with which he advanced the interests of his king, especially among the Indians, with whom he had very great influence. He had confronted Washington three years before at Fort Le Bœuf, which was constructed in Western Pennsylvania for the maintenance of the claims of France. It was chiefly through his instrumentality that the Indians of Dieskau's expedition were gathered together and organized. He received his death-wound in the forests in the morning, and his earthly greatness came to an end in the battle of September 8th, 1755.

On the English side, General Johnson, the com-

mander-in-chief, was a distinguished character in the province. He had been superintendent of Indian affairs for several years, and possessed an acute mind and executive talents of a high order. His private morals were bad; but, like other public men of that day and this, his moral demerit was, unfortunately, no bar to his public renown. The King of Great Britain conferred on him a baronetcy, and Parliament voted a tribute to his triumph of £5000. The name of Sir William Johnson will go down to posterity with titled honors and military distinction.

Major-General Lyman, the real hero of the battle in the estimation of some, directed the movements of the provincial army the greater part of the day. The command had devolved upon him in consequence of a wound received by General Johnson in the early part of the engagement, which compelled him to withdraw to his tent. Lyman was in the thickest of the fight, and guided the movements of the field with discretion and energy. He was an accomplished, educated man, high in rank at the bar, a civilian of some eminence, and deserves well of his country for his military services on September 8, 1755. It is not to the credit of General Johnson that he does not even mention the name of General Lyman in the official account of the battle. Nor was it very courteous in Johnson to change the name of Fort Lyman, at the

carrying-place, to Fort Edward, which he did only a few days after the battle.

Colonel Ephraim Williams was a prominent actor in the scenes we commemorate. In the former war of 1744, he commanded the line of forts on the western side of the Connecticut river, and resided principally at Fort Massachusetts, which was about three miles east of what is now Williamstown. In passing through Albany, on his way to the seat of war, he made his will on the 22d of July. After giving certain legacies to his relatives, he bequeathed the remainder of his property to the founding of a free-school on the western frontiers of Massachusetts, at a place which received the name of Williamstown, in honour of the donor. In 1790, the sum had accumulated to nearly $20,000; $6000 of which was used, with a similar amount from other sources, in erecting a large building for the academy. In 1793, the academy was chartered by the State as a college, and was called Williams College. It was a great thought in the mind of Williams to establish an institution of learning. His fame rests upon a more enduring rock than the reconnoitering-stone of a military officer; and his monument is seen, not merely by glances in a mountain-ravine, but on the highway of nations and in the heathen as well as the civilized world.—It was Williams College that sent out the first American missionaries to Asia; and her graduates have

the honour of originating the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The alumni of the College last year erected a tasteful monument to the memory of its founder. His remains were disinterred some twenty years ago. A stone, with the initials E. W., 1755, marks the original place of his burial, which was a few rods south of the monument, on the western side of the old road.

Old Hendrick, the Mohawk sachem, fell in the battle of Lake George. He was the greatest Indian chief of his day. Sagacity and moderation were the basis of his character. Brave in the field, he was wise in council. His integrity was incorruptible; and his friendship to the American colonies, whose chain was consecrated at council-fires, was strengthened in the heat of trial. Two characteristic anecdotes are told of him, as incidents of the battle of September 8th, 1775. His opinion being asked in regard to the number of men at first proposed for the detachment of the morning, he replied: "If to fight, too few; if to be killed, too many." The number was accordingly increased; but General Johnson proposed to send them out in three divisions. Hendrick took three sticks, and, putting them together, said: "Put these sticks together, and you can't break them; take them one by one, and you will break them easily." Previously to the setting out of the detachment, Hendrick harangued his people in strains of

fervid eloquence. He was among the earliest killed. He had advanced so far into the ambuscade that the fire from the flank hit him in the back. He was at the head of the Indians, as represented in Blodget's view of the battle, and must have fallen several hundred yards in advance of Williams; probably a third of the way between the monument and the present toll-gate. The Indians on our side sustained the chief attack of the morning. Out of two hundred men they lost nearly one-fourth, and every one of their officers. They complained to General Johnson that they had been sacrificed by the backwardness of our men. The sticks mentioned by old Hendrick had not been tied closely enough together.

Israel Putnam, who afterwards became a famous general in the American Revolution, and who shared with Warren and Stark the glories of Bunker Hill, was a private soldier in the battle of Lake George. He was one of Williams' men in the detachment of the morning. Lake George was a training-place of his future greatness. He was frequently employed, after the battle, in reconnoitering the enemy. He was the ranger of the lake. He was the scout of the mountain. His eye could detect an Indian's trail, and take unerring sight with his old musket at any mark worthy the snap of the flint. The rotund, jovial figure of "Old Put" has been often imaged in the waters of the lake and shadowed along the moun-

tain glens; and, in the regiment of Lyman, no man did heavier work than he on the 8th of September, 1755.

The famous JOHN STARK was in the army, as lieutenant; but, as the New Hampshire regiment was stationed for the defence of Fort Edward, it is probable that Stark was on duty there, and not in the battle.

Other distinguished officers and men were on the battle-field, and among them was the brave Colonel TITCOMB, who was the only officer killed in the encampment, and whose regiment, posted on the extreme right, was obliged to sustain the brunt of Dieskau's attack on that side. The graves of Titcomb, McGinnis, and the other officers who fell, are, no doubt, with us to this day; and, although the dark oblivion of a century intercepts their individual recognition, tradition points the present generation to the "officers' graves."

Let us now notice some of the circumstances which gave to the battle of Lake George a renown beyond the mere numbers engaged in the contest.

I. The battle of Lake George is memorable in defeating a well-laid, dangerous scheme of the enemy, and in saving the province from scenes of bloodshed and desolation. If Dieskau had succeeded in overthrowing Johnson in his intrenchments, his advance upon Fort Edward would have been easily successful,

and from thence his march to Albany would have been triumphant. Old Hendrick, at the Convention of the preceding year, had warned the province of its danger. "You are without any fortifications," said he: "It is but a step from Canada hither; and the French may easily come and turn you out of doors." The conflagration of our northern settlements would have been followed by the desolation of Albany and Schenectady; and, although Dieskau must have soon been compelled to retreat, it is impossible to estimate the bloodshed, plunder, and general losses which might have taken place, had not God ordered it otherwise. His providence was on our side. The victory of Lake George undoubtedly rescued the province from injury and woe beyond computation. Considered, therefore, in its immediate strategical results, the battle was one of the important engagements of American history.

II. The battle of Lake George is remarkable for *its influence in rallying the spirit of the American colonies.* Much had been expected from the three expeditions sent against the French; but disappointment and sorrow had already followed Braddock's terrible defeat. That event had occurred only two months before, on the 9th of July. It was more than the moaning of the forest-pine in the ears of the solitary traveller; it was the blaze of lightning falling upon the mountain-oak in his very path, followed by the

crash of thunder. All the provinces were amazed, awe-struck, paralyzed, for a time; but, recovering from the first shock of the calamity, they were aroused to avenge their loss. Their hopes were turned to Lake George and to Niagara, and not in vain. Johnson's victory was received as the precursor of a recovered military position and fame, and was hailed as the means of deliverance from a bold and cruel foe. Few battles ever produced more immediate results in rekindling patriotic and martial enthusiasm. Congratulations poured in upon General Johnson from every quarter. Not only were the colonies filled with rejoicing, but the influence of the triumph went over to England, and the deeds of our fathers at the camp of Lake George became familiar to the ears of Royalty and were applauded by the eloquence of Parliament. The moral effects of a battle in which the forces arrayed against each other were comparatively small, have rarely been greater and more decided in the whole range of military annals.

III. Viewed simply in a military aspect, the battle of Lake George was the *only successful achievement within the thirteen colonies, during the campaign of* 1755; which is another item of its various renown. Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela, and Shirley's retreat from Oswego, brought ruin upon the expeditions framed for the reduction of Forts Duquesne

and Niagara. Although the northern expedition failed in its object of reducing Fort Frederick, it had a show of glory in the brilliant success of a hard-fought battle. Success in one direction often overbalances disappointment in another. The victory of General Johnson was the great event of the campaign of 1755, solitary in the honors of its military triumph, and shining out, bright as Mars, from the clouds of night.

IV. The victory of Lake George occurred in the series of campaigns that *ended in the conquest of Canada, and of the valley of the Great West.* Here, in the forest, was the base of a line of operations on which were wrought out great problems of war. The mountains of the lake were landmarks to conduct our armies from summit to summit of achievement, until, passing over all barriers, they found their resting-place in the valleys of St. Lawrence and Mississippi. Unknown results of territorial acquisition, and of political and religious destiny, lay concealed in the expedition which started for the capture of a single fort on Lake Champlain, and for the defence of the limited boundary-line of a province. God disposes of man's proposals. The lucid purposes of an all-comprehensive Providence undiscernible by mortal eyes, are brought to pass by the majestic developments of events apparently remote in their relations as trivial in their magnitude. The American victory of Lake George was not an isolated item of one cam-

paign. It was more than a simple triumph in an unbroken wilderness, — a military achievement of the New England and New York yeomanry, which saved themselves from destruction. Far higher its moral, political, and warlike connections. It headed a series of successes that were followed by the gain of kingdoms. It animated the determination of the country to take decisive measures for deliverance from French aggressions and agitations. "Canada, my lord," wrote a distinguished New Yorker, in reviewing the operations of the campaign, "Canada must be demolished, — *Delenda est Carthago*, — or we are undone."[1] The result was not anticipated at the beginning, but the natural tendency of the contest was the overthrow of French dominion on the continent. Johnson's victory had a true influence of relation to this end. As the southern inlet near Fort George joins itself to the lake, whose waters flow to the north, and, tossed over cascades and waterfalls, pass into the St. Lawrence, so the expedition of 1755, identifying itself with a vast expanse of agencies, pressed forward the natural current of its direction, over the rocks and reverses of campaigns, into Canada. But Canada was only a part of the great acquisitions of the war. The whole Northwest was wrested from France, together with the valley of the Mississippi lying easterly of that river, with the exception of

[1] Review of Military Operations, etc., p. 143.

the island of Orleans. Thus we stand to-day at one of the fountain-heads of American destiny.

V. The battle of Lake George was furthermore memorable *in its suggestions of provincial prowess, and in its lessons of warfare to the colonies preparatory to their* INDEPENDENCE. The battle was fought by provincial troops, and chiefly by the hardy sons of glorious New England. The veteran regulars of Old England had been beaten in the forests of Western Pennsylvania, or remained inactive in the Niagara expedition. Through some unaccountable cause, the expedition, which was on the direct line to Canada, and nearest to the French reinforcements, known to be at hand, was consigned to the exclusive care of native colonial soldiers; and bravely did they do their duty. On these shores provincial prowess signalized its self-relying and unaided capabilities; and in this battle and in this war the colonies practically learned the value of union and the unconquerable energies of a free people. Putnam, and Stark, and Pomeroy, came here, as to a military academy, to acquire the art of warfare; and they all exercised their experience at Bunker Hill. GEORGE WASHINGTON, himself, as a military man, was nurtured for America and the world amid the forests of the Alleghanies and the rifles and tomahawks of these French and Indian struggles. Lake George and Saratoga are contiguous not merely in territory, but in heroic

association. Correlative ideas, evolved under varying circumstances, they are proofs of the same spirit of liberty, the same strong energy of purpose,

"And courage quailing not, though hosts oppose."

The battle-scenes of the Old French War and of the Revolution, are match-pictures in the gallery of history, to be handed down together to all generations. The influence of the Old French War, as the training-field of the American Revolution, was incalculably great. During all this period, too, a political conflict was going on in almost all the provinces, between their legislative bodies and the commissioners of the plantations in England; so that, while resisting from principle what were regarded as arbitrary exactions, the colonies were becoming conversant with their own military and political strength, which was laying itself up in store for the crisis of revolutionary emergencies.

In view of these considerations, the battle of Lake George well deserves some prominence of the country's annals.

A few words about the FORTS must not be omitted on this historical occasion.

Fort WILLIAM HENRY was built by General Johnson, just a century ago. The original site of the *encampment* extended from the lake a quarter of a mile, or upwards, with the old road as the centre, being

flanked by the marshy land, and having the irregular eminences, on one of which Fort George was afterwards built, as part of the encampment. A few days before the battle, the site where Fort William Henry now stands, was selected for the building of a picketed fort, to contain one hundred men; and Colonel Williams was charged with its erection, under the management of Captain Eyres, the engineer. General Johnson was, from the beginning, opposed to a picketed fort, and in favour of a regular military structure, capable of resisting artillery. This contest between Johnson and his officers was probably the index of opposite views in regard to the campaign at that time, — Johnson wishing to remain at Lake George and construct a large fortification, while the officers aimed at putting up a temporary defence and proceeding at once to Ticonderoga and Crown Point. After a contest of nearly a month, during which time General Johnson managed to secure the opinion of the general-in-chief and the acting governor of the State in favour of his views, and it becoming evident that the expedition could not advance this season, the council of officers agreed to change the plan of a small stockade fort into a more regular work, capable of holding five hundred men. This opinion was arrived at on the 29th of September, and the new fortification was immediately commenced, prosecuted with some vigour, and finished in about two months.

The name William Henry was given by General Johnson "in honour of two of the royal family."—The site of the fort always had opponents. It was "faulted by Montressor, the chief-engineer;" and General Johnson was early obliged to vindicate it from the objections still prevailing.

The history of Fort William Henry is a short and mournful one. It capitulated, after a brave defence, to the French general, Montcalm, on the 9th of August, 1757, and a large part of the garrison were inhumanly massacred by the Indians. The vestiges that remain are hallowed by ancient recollections; and the proprietors of the soil have patriotically determined that the site shall be forever reserved and kept free from the encroachments of modern improvement.

The eminence at Fort George was "lined out" by General Abercrombie in 1758—the year following the destruction of Fort William Henry; but the masonwork was not built until the following year, 1759, by the army under General Amherst. Its site was part of Johnson's original encampment. It was also the encampment of a division of Colonel Monroe's army when Fort William Henry capitulated. The garrison at that time embraced about five hundred men, and the intrenchments around the eminence held seventeen hundred. One of the first things that Montcalm did was to post a large detachment on the road to

the south, for the purpose of cutting off supplies from the rear, and of harassing the communication between the intrenchments and the fort. The eminence was intrenched by General Abercrombie, after his defeat at Ticonderoga. In that disastrous action the English had about two thousand men killed and wounded. One of the Highland regiments, commanded by the gallant Colonel Grant, went into the action eight hundred strong, and came out with the loss of nearly one-half. The Presbyterian clergyman, before the engagement, ended his few remarks by saying: "My lads, I ha'e nae time for lang preachments; a' I ha'e to say is, nae cowards gae to heaven." Fort George has no special renown on the pages of history.

Fort Gage was built in 1759, while General Amherst was at the lake. It was named in honour of General Gage, who commanded the light infantry. Gage was with Braddock at the time of his defeat. He afterwards received the appointment of general, and subsequently was governor of Massachusetts — the last provincial governor that the old Bay State allowed in her councils.

The battles, the forts, the intrenchments, the ruins, the roads, the graves, of this vicinity, are all memorials of the Old French War. That war resulted in the most important conquests. It was, in fact, a war of Protestant against Roman Catholic Christianity;

and on its issues the destiny of the mighty valleys of the West was pre-eminently dependent. God raised up WILLIAM PITT, "the great Commoner," to preside over the affairs of England at this critical period; and through his glorious administration, commencing in 1757, England recovered her position among the nations, and resumed her wonted superiority on the continent. Prussia was the only power that struggled with her, side by side, against the common foe. The greatest trophies won by England, during the war, were in this Western World. The possession of Canada, and the peaceable enjoyment of her North American colonies, were rewards worthy the struggle of an Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

The peace of 1763 enabled King George III., who had recently ascended the throne, to carry out his design of overawing the colonies by arbitrary power. William Pitt, the man of the people, resigned his office, and a different policy prevailed. The American Revolution ensued, and France, our former colonial enemy, became our effective ally against England. The Revolutionary War is naturally the one that most deeply stirs the heart of our patriotism; and 1776, the liberty-epoch in American annals, has a national priority over every other historical period. Yet not in vain does 1755 claim honour in these regions of the lake. Here the associations of the Old French War predominate; and history, interro-

gating nature, learns from mountain, and lake, and water-brook, and plain, that armies here fought for the rights of crowns and for vast territorial domains.

O thou Lake, islet-decked as with gems for maiden beauty, and intelligent, in the depth of thy clear waters, in scenes of the olden time, we hail thee to-day, Reminiscencer and Teacher! And you, ye Mountains, where come the four seasons, monarchs of the solitude, to pay the tribute of the year, hail to you for the sight of your majestic presence, for the voiced memories of a century, for your glens, reverberating with solemn sound the achievements of our sires! Ye Forts, weak in triple confederacy, the work of man and the contrivance of war, we rejoice that your mission is over, and that ye stand like antiquarians, with relics in your hands, rather than as warriors equipped for the battle-field! And you, ye graves, mounding hill-top and plain, scarcely distinguishable from the furrows of the harvest-field,—ah! Death, who digs deeper than the plough, has sown in you the seeds of resurrection,—seeds which the storms of centuries do but harrow for the reaping at the in-gathering time; ye are fertile with the bodies of men; and, when earth shall be buried in the ruins of its final doom, ye shall bring forth your tenants clothed with immortality!

Every view of the lake and every pass of the hills has some tradition of ancient deed and story which

this day commemorates. In the midst of the scenes of our historical festival, let us use our patriotic emotions in perpetuating the records of the past century in some consistent and enduring form. I venture to propose that a monument be erected *at the old battle-field of Lake George*, on one side of which an appropriate memorial of the contest shall be engraved, and on another side an epitaph to the courageous Colonel Titcomb and the other officers who died in defending their country. I also venture to suggest that another monument be erected to the memory of *Hendrick*, the famous Mohawk chieftain, near the spot where he is supposed to have fallen. Monuments are of great public use. They are pages of history to the people; they are the rallying-points of earnest patriotism; they are records of national gratitude; they are memorials of God's providential interposition; they are pleasing objects of sight to the spectator and traveller, and have been regarded by all civilized nations as worthy of the public expenditure, interest, and care. Thus may the old century receive fresh homage from the new, and an increase of glory emblazon on our country's flag the inscription woven in upon it at Lake George, of SEPTEMBER 8TH, 1755.

One hundred years—ONE HUNDRED YEARS—are gone. Rapid is the roll of centuries. Majestic clouds in the firmament of time, they fleet away, bearing on their diversified forms the light and shade of human

destiny. Everywhere, as here, is seen the vanity of earthly scenes, except as they are connected with the ends of an everlasting kingdom. Results endure, but generations perish. Sleeping are the warriors that fought, the councillors that schemed, the people that acted. The Celtic sway of the Bourbon, once dominant on the lake, is silent as the graves of Champlain and Montcalm. The Iroquois have vanished from the forests and valleys of their ancient hunting-grounds; and the hardy race of Anglo-Saxon ancestry now occupy their possessions amid the land-marks of civil liberty and the institutions of the Reformation. Welcome the new century in the procession of ages! May the eras of human improvement be contemporaries of its advancing cycles, and its calendar abound in festival blessings for our country and the world. And to thee, OLD CENTURY, farewell! The good of the past shall never die. When mountain and lake shall flee away in the retinue of time, and the earth and the firmament be scrolled up for eternal judgment, the history of these scenes, and all human histories, shall be perpetuated in honour so far as they were tributary to the history of redemption.

THE ADVANTAGES OF COLLEGES.

An address delivered before the Philomathean Society of Carroll College, Waukesha, Wisconsin, July 15th, 1857.

ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the Philomathean Society,

And Friends of the College:

The first "commencement" of the first Presbyterian College in the United States, took place in the year 1748. The accomplished and beloved Burr, the first President of the College of New Jersey under the Charter, presided on the occasion. The commencement was held at Newark, then a small village, not as large as Waukesha at the time Carroll College was located here. Governor Belcher, the friend of religion and the patron of learning, was on the platform; and around him sat a company of honored Trustees; of ministers, Samuel Blair, Pierson, Pemberton, Gilbert and William Tennent, Treat, Arthur, Jones, and Green; and of laymen, Redding, President of the Council, Kinsey, Shippen, Smith, and Hazard. It was a great day in the annals of our Church and of the State. From that small but illustrious beginning, a score of Colleges have come into life of Presbyterian parentage; and now another claims admittance into the Republic of Letters, fresh

with the bloom of Academic youth, and holding high the armorial bearings of a great State emblazoned with "Forward." All hail to thee, daughter, Wisconsin-born! *Salve, Collegium Carrollense!*

The first commencement of the College of New Jersey possessed fewer auspices of greatness than the one with which, young gentlemen, you are now connected. The College of New Jersey in 1748 had no building, no Professors, no endowment, no permanent site, and only twenty students. The population of the adjacent States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia, did not exceed that of Wisconsin at the present time;[1] and the Legislature of New Jersey, with a persistent monopoly of refusal, declined then, as it has ever since, to bestow a pecuniary grant upon the institution. Far more favored at its first commencement is Carroll than the College of New Jersey. Its permanent site is on a beautiful elevation, an appropriate symbol of education, with its campus thick-set with rock beneath and with verdure above, mingling the *utile dulci*,—a location, ancient with the memorials of Indian antiquity, and modern with the sight of one of the most thriving towns in Wisconsin. The College has probably the largest and ablest Faculty that ever graced the first commencement of a similar institution; it possesses

[1] In 1749, New York had 73,448 inhabitants; New Jersey, about 50,000; and Pennsylvania about 180,000.

an endowment which, with its building and grounds, is estimated at fifty thousand dollars; its catalogue enrols forty-five students in the regular classes; and there is a prospect of educational sympathy and pecuniary aid from the State. In short, everything betokens a prosperity quite unusual at so early a period of collegiate life.

The first graduating class at Princeton contained six students, — the same number that would have graduated at Carroll, if God had not called away MARSH to perfect his education in Heaven's great University. Who could have foretold, a century ago, the blessings that were to accrue to the world from the infant institution over which Burr then presided? Nor can any prophet, though endowed with Wisconsian enthusiasm, declare the unutterable advantages to Church and to State, which are to go down from generation to generation, from Carroll College, whose administration under our own beloved SAVAGE, has been so auspiciously initiated. A happy day, indeed, to you, Sir, the honored President, who may affirm, with a deep experience,

> "Hic dies, vere mihi festus, atras
> Eximet curas."

Young gentlemen, we stand to-day at one of the fountain-heads of Western destiny. A College is among the active forces of life and immortality; it is a perpetual power to supply motive, and influence.

and action, from mind to mind, in all the providential developments of human society. There is a little stream among the mysterious latitudes and longitudes of the great West, where Lewis and Clark stood with the delight and wonder of first explorers. It is the supply source of the "Father of Waters." As the Mississippi controls the irrigation, the agriculture, the commerce, the resources of the great West, so institutions of learning, the upper sources of civilization, direct the political and religious destiny of the world. Carroll College claims a share of homage, among the activities which are to shape the destinies of the West. On this, the first "commencement" occasion of its collegiate existence, I choose as a suitable theme for a public Address, the general advantages of Colleges; or, more particularly, I venture to offer a Plea for CARROLL COLLEGE, AS A GOOD GIFT TO A GREAT STATE.

I. Among the general advantages which commend Carroll College as a good gift to Wisconsin, is ITS ADAPTATION TO FURNISH MINISTERS TO THE CHURCH. Religion is of supreme importance to men, as private individuals, and as citizens of a commonwealth. Our intellectual and moral constitution, in union with a resurrection body, declares the wisdom, power, and authority of God. Obedience to His government, through the grace of His Son, our Saviour, can alone elevate human nature to its true position and glory.

Forgiveness of sin, sanctification of spirit, providential guidance, usefulness in life, and eternal happiness beyond the grave, are the great proposals which Christianity heralds to a fallen world. Young gentlemen, religion is the grandest, sweetest theme that can ever enlist a mortal's immortal mind.

As members of a community, as well as personally, all men have an interest in the advancement of the Gospel. Virtue and morality are indispensable to the well-being of society. The nature and the execution of the laws, the maintenance of the public credit, the preservation of social order, the administration of justice, the peaceable enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, whatever gives value to citizenship, and supplies patriotism to the State, must have its best guarantees in the principles and sanctions of God's holy word. The farmer, the merchant, the mechanic, with all classes and professions of society, are immeasurably benefited by the prevalence of religious principle. Worldly thrift has a close relation to morality. Speculators understand the wisdom of the policy of donating lots for churches in new towns and cities. Outward prosperity is one of the attendants on religion. "Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honour." Religion is the only safeguard for the great social and political interests of a commonwealth; it is the only hope for the salvation of the soul.

God has made provision for personal and public religious wants, by establishing a sacred profession, whose object is to keep the plan of redemption before mankind. The theme of heaven's everlasting Song, must be held up to human view, with the prominence of its own glorious and intrinsic merit, and with the grace of its adaptation to human hearts and human tongues. The Christian ministry is the selected instrumentality. It is a vocation, magnified by the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was Himself a minister of righteousness, by the divine original and gifts of the sacred office, by the promise of the Spirit's presence in the discharge of its functions, and by its indispensable agency, as proved by Scripture and Providence, in promoting the welfare of kingdoms and the salvation of souls.

To assist in furnishing ministers to the Church is, therefore, a great work. This is one of the aims of a Christian College. It was distinctly set forth by our fathers in the establishment of their first collegiate institution at Princeton. Presbyterians have always acted on the principle of securing, by God's grace, an EDUCATED MINISTRY. Piety and learning are as harmonious as the light and the heat of the day, or the grain and the green of harvest. Since miracles have ceased, and inspiration, the gift of tongues, and the discerning of spirits, are no longer imparted to prophets and teachers, the Church supplies the absence

of these miraculous endowments, as far as possible, by the industrious use of means in the cultivation of the natural powers of the mind. The Reformation in the Church took place under the directing energy of men of learning. Wickliff was nurtured into greatness at the University of Oxford, and John Huss prepared for immortality at the University of Prague. Luther, Calvin, Knox, Cranmer, and the host of Reformers, were men of mighty erudition. They were indebted under God for their influence to thorough and extensive mental acquirements, as well as to fervent piety. The service of the sanctuary requires the most perfect qualifications. As the candlestick of the temple was made of pure beaten gold, and gave light to the worshipper from its seven branches of exquisite workmanship, so the most costly and varied cultivation of intellect and heart should be brought into requisition to show forth the light of the new dispensation, and to illuminate the world with the truth as it is in Jesus. Ministers are expounders of the wisdom of God. They are ambassadors from heaven. They are charged with the highest department of instruction. They are defenders of the faith. They are brought into contact with human nature in its various forms of stupid superstition, of callous indifference, and of adroit, untiring skepticism. Of all men, ministers have need, in every age, of mental training of the highest kind attainable. Institutions

of learning have thus a direct and influential relation to the prosperity of the Church. Without Colleges, the land could not be blessed with the ministrations of learned and gifted men, able "rightly to divide the word of truth."

Colleges have been remarkably successful in the training of a learned and pious ministry. At Princeton College, out of its 3584 graduates, 670 have become ministers of the Gospel, or nearly a fifth of the whole number. At Jefferson College, Pa., and Centre College, Ky., one-third of the graduates have entered the ministry. Out of 30,000 young men who have been graduated at Presbyterian and Congregational Colleges, about 8000 have become ministers, being nearly one-fourth of the whole number. You see, gentlemen, from these statements and statistics, *one* item in the value of Colleges. The Church has an intense interest in their prosperity. Heaven watches their origin and growth. The kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ is extended throughout the earth by ministers educated in these institutions of learning.

II. A second advantage of a College, and of Carroll College, is that it FURNISHES THE USEFUL PUBLIC MEN TO THE STATE. The commonwealth is the institution of God. It is an ordinance of the King of kings, established for high political and moral purposes; and it claims, under the limitations of rectitude, supreme

allegiance and universal homage. "The powers that be are ordained of God." The supply to the State of well-trained and able professional men is in obedience to the clearest providential requirements, and it aspires to the good of the commonwealth and the glory of Heaven.

Education, in the first place, *strengthens the mind.* It fits it for use, and enables it to employ its faculties for the public welfare. Education is not theoretical: it is verily utilitarian. It has practical value. The power of mind is increased by training. If the prosperity of a country be promoted by bringing into cultivation new acres of land, and by the production of additional manufactures by the industry of the people, so is it advanced by the cultivation of more intellect, and by the additional mental strength acquired in institutions of learning. All college graduates do not, indeed, become legislators, or executive officers, or lawyers and judges; but the State has at least a wider range from which to obtain its supplies, and more strength of mind in its employment when that supply is obtained from educated men. And even though these individuals should never be called into public life, the State has still the benefit of cultivated talent and influence in the spheres in which they move.

Secondly. A collegiate education *enlightens the mind.* It imparts knowledge; and "knowledge is

power." A public man ought not to be ignorant. You will all maintain that a person who cannot read or write, is unfit to hold office in Wisconsin; and further, that the higher the office, the better informed ought the incumbent ordinarily to be, in order to fill it well. Now, a college possesses materials in its studies to qualify men for the highest engagements of professional life. History, political economy, the classics, literature, mathematics, general learning, give an enlargement of view which belongs to the true qualifications of a statesman.

A collegiate education *disciplines the character.* Learning inculcates lessons of self-reliance, patience, subordination, a proper appreciation of ourselves and of others. The associations of college life, outside of the class-room, assist the other appliances of education in opening the eyes of the ignorant, and in unfolding the true relations of individuals to each other and to society at large. The daily intercourse of students, their alliances of friendship, their contact with each other as debaters in the Literary Societies, all unite with the natural tendency of literary habits and acquisitions to improve and discipline the character.

Furthermore, a collegiate education *fosters the true spirit of liberty,* which is another element in the qualifications of all public men. A liberal education brings the mind into communion with the master

spirits of antiquity, who generally plead for popular rights. The study of history excites sympathy with liberty. The acquisition of knowledge in general opens to the soul the great truths and laws of the universe, which make a man feel his independence and the dignity of his nature. A student's natural position is in the ranks of freedom. In the first graduating class of Princeton was RICHARD STOCKTON, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. JOHN WITHERSPOON, the President of the College, was another of the eminent signers, foremost in zeal for his country's cause. The College of New Jersey has the glory of enrolling on its catalogue *one-fifth* of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. WILLIAM GRAHAM, President of the College at Lexington, Va., collected a company of soldiers, and at their head boldly marched against the foe. Four-fifths of the graduates of Princeton passed from the walls of the College into the Revolutionary army, and their blood fertilizes every battle-field from Quebec and Ticonderoga to King's Mountain and Fort Moultrie. The very names adopted by our colleges, in the last century, show their appreciation of liberty. The old college building at Princeton was named *Nassau Hall*, in honour of William of Nassau, the Defender of freedom. The College in the valley of Virginia took the name of *Liberty Hall;* whilst the other college, east of the Blue Ridge, called itself "*Hampden Sid-*

ney," after two great champions of human rights. Nor has the old spirit yet become impaired; for out here in the far West, in the middle of another century, Presbyterians have called their college "*Carroll*," after one of the illustrious signers of the immortal document of our Liberties.

The history of other colleges, in existence at the time of the Revolution, confirms the view taken in this Address. Harvard and Yale have been immemorially for freedom. Out of the twenty-one representatives sent by Massachusetts to the old Continental Congress, from 1774 to 1789, *seventeen* were graduates of Harvard. Time would fail me to enter more largely into statistics. These facts show, not only that colleges foster the spirit of liberty, but that they furnish a large number of useful public men to the State.

As a specimen of the State-aiding power of Colleges, let me just add that Princeton College alone has furnished a President of the United States, two Vice-Presidents, four Judges of the Supreme Court, six members of the Cabinet, nearly one hundred and fifty members of Congress, and about twenty-five Governors of different States, besides a large majority of the Judges of her own Supreme Court, and other public men. Carroll College has yet to make out her catalogue of eminent public service; but it cannot be doubted that this institution will produce a true and

honorable proportion of worthies in the executive. legislative, and judicial departments, and in all the learned professions of public life.

III. Another advantage of a College is, that, being the NATURAL COMPLETION OF A SYSTEM OF EDUCATION, it exerts a healthful influence on THE COMMON SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES OF THE COUNTRY, AND ON THE GENERAL ELEVATION OF THE PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY OF THE POOR.

It is the honour of Colleges that they identify themselves with the success of all other institutions. Their influence pervades society. They are the sources of an enlightened public opinion, from which streams of practical benefit flow down to the people at large. Colleges form a natural part of a system of education. They are the sun, around which revolve the large and the lesser stars. To deny a college its true relations to the general system, is to disparage the power of first causes, as well as to disbelieve the demonstrations of experience. Intellectual culture descends from the higher to the lower conditions of society. It works its way down, through many obstacles, to the masses of the people. The leaders in the general efforts for popular education have been those who had the power of appreciating its necessity and benefits. A large number of the Pilgrims were educated in the Universities. Had Providence permitted the first settlers in the Mayflower to be ignorant and il-

literate men, common schools would not have constituted from so early a period the glory of New England. The first movement, in this country, for the universal education of the people, was the foundation of a College. Harvard College preceded the common school system, as its natural and nurturing cause. The same is substantially true, it is believed, of the history of common schools in every State where they exist by public law. Yale, Dartmouth, Bowdoin, and Brown Universities and Colleges preceded common schools, or grew up contemporaneously with them as sources of their prosperity. Columbia and Union Colleges, in New York, Princeton and Rutgers Colleges in New Jersey, the University at Philadelphia, and Dickinson, Jefferson, and Washington Colleges in Pennsylvania, all antedated legal provisions for the general education of the people. Marietta College and the State Universities in Ohio, Hanover, Wabash, and all the colleges in Indiana, but one, are older than the beginning of taxation to support common schools. The Universities of Michigan and Wisconsin, and Carroll and Beloit Colleges, were founded in advance of the establishment of the lower institutions, or in such connection with them as to show that they were natural and necessary parts of a complete system. Experience had already demonstrated, in other States, the great and indispensable advantages of Colleges. Enlightening and quickening in-

fluences go forth from them to create a sound and active public opinion, and to prepare the way for the establishment and support of academies and common schools.

Allow me to be a little more specific. Colleges further benefit the public educational system in two ways, which few persons will call in question.

1st. By increasing the number and elevating the qualifications of *teachers*. The life of a school system depends upon the persons who administer it. The chief question which immediately relates to the prosperity of common schools, is, — How can teachers be obtained in sufficient numbers, and of the right qualifications? The common schools, of themselves, cannot send forth large numbers of good teachers, because they do not ordinarily carry the education of scholars far enough to qualify them for the great art of teaching. No employment in society requires more intellectual vigor and general thrift of learning than the office of a teacher. Ignorant men, although they may have good common sense, cannot ordinarily produce any other than ignorant scholars. A stream will not rise above its source. Hence, we find, that the best common school teachers are those who have resorted to higher institutions for the purpose of preparing themselves for their work. The State has discovered the necessity of establishing Normal Schools, as the means of creating good teachers for

the common schools. If it be asked, whether Normal Schools and Academies will not do the work without Colleges, the reply is, that Colleges sustain the same relation to Academies and Normal Schools that the latter do to the public schools. Where can the supply of well-qualified teachers for these intermediate institutions be obtained, except from the higher institutions, such as the Wisconsin University, and Carroll and Beloit Colleges? All the educational institutions of the State, from the highest to the lowest, exert a reciprocal influence upon each other, and each imparts life and vigour to the whole. The people are beginning to understand this matter, and the prejudice against Colleges is yielding to the conviction that they sustain an important relation to academies and common schools. The supply of teachers, both as to number and qualifications, is connected with the opportunities and the incentives presented by Universities and Colleges.

2dly. Besides this direct advantage conferred by Colleges on the State system of schools, there is yet another: Colleges offer to the pupils of common schools the *facilities of obtaining a higher education*. What a great calamity it would be to the State, if the tens of thousands of its children in common schools were forever shut out from the opportunity of increasing their stock of educational knowledge! Some of them, at least, will naturally aspire to farther acqui-

sitions. There is a tendency in learning to stimulate the desire for more. Many a boy will be excited to aim at higher attainments than the common school undertakes to impart; and under right influences will be led to go to an academy and then to a College. In proportion as the common school system becomes improved in the qualifications of its teachers, the number of youth, who desire to pursue a more advanced education, will be increased. Colleges depend upon the common schools and academies for a supply of pupils, just as the latter depend upon Colleges for a supply of teachers.

These general views are sufficient to indicate the advantages of a College in its connection with all other institutions of education. Carroll College claims the capacity to increase the prosperity of the academies and common schools of Wisconsin.

There is yet another idea that deserves attention. Colleges, as parts of an educational system, convey relatively their greatest benefits *to the poor*. A College opens its gates to all, and invites equally the rich, the middle classes, and the poor. Equal opportunity is guaranteed to all. This is a relative advantage to the poor, because the poor do not naturally possess equal power with the rich, either in founding or sustaining institutions of learning. The plan of endowment adopted by Carroll College, is designed to cheapen education to the lowest point consistent with rigorous necessity.

The larger the endowment fund, the less will be the price of tuition, and there are already scholarships to support the more needy students. Here, again, in the pecuniary aspects of the case, the relative advantage is with the poor. But the greatest of all the advantages to the poor is in the actual results. Education knows no distinctions in theory, and, practically, it eradicates them all. It takes a young man out of a condition of poverty, and gives him the intellectual resources, the cultivated tastes, and even the manners of a higher life. It exerts an enlightening and humanizing influence, which removes all artificial barriers. Nothing, like education, so confounds the distinctions of rank. Like the railroad, it cuts through hills, and builds its embankments over valleys. High and low places must alike conform to the law of its great energetic level. A College brings to the poor and middle classes the opportunity of furnishing their sons with all the appliances that assist in obtaining the highest posts of influence and usefulness in society. If any class ought to possess and exhibit a kindly feeling towards colleges, it is the poor. Carroll College is the friend of all, but especially of those who constitute the masses. It thus sympathizes in spirit with the common-school system, and whilst it offers equal opportunities to every child in the State, the poor receive the greatest relative gain.

IV. A fourth consideration to prove that a College is a good gift to the State, is that it affords an important means of *imbuing the youthful mind with correct principles of morality and religion.*

A godless education is a very dangerous experiment. The omission of divine truth in a course of training, virtually assumes that the immortal part of our nature is of comparatively little value. How much better is it to take the scriptural view, and to train up young men "in the way they should go," thus preparing them for this life and for the life to come! The incidental compensations, which are to be found in private and public religious instruction, in the household and in the sanctuary, do not justify the exclusion of Christianity from the literary course. The founders of Carroll College adopted, as a fundamental principle, the inculcation of religion with all other acquisitions of knowledge. The book held in the greatest reverence here, is the Bible. The motto on the seal of the Corporation is "ὁ Βιβλιος;" and the Bible was the first book to form the nucleus of the library. Ought not Christians to honour the word of God in the institutions that train their youth? Even the Pagans acknowledged their gods in their systems of education, as do the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Mohammedans of the present day. If religion be a good thing, it is a good thing to teach it. Institutions of learning afford remarkable facility for reli-

gious instruction. A place can be found for divine truth, if there be a will to give it place. Our Presbyterian colleges all assign to religion more or less prominence. Other denominations have also their religious colleges. Some of the considerations, which urge religious instruction as a part of the literary course, are these:

1. It is right to honour God in all things, and everywhere.

2. The human soul has moral as well as intellectual faculties; and true education implies the development of our whole nature.

3. Religious truth is the most important of all truth.

4. Youth is the most suitable time to attend to the doctrines and duties of religion.

5. God has blessed in a remarkable manner efforts to convert young men in colleges. Exactly one century ago, in 1757, the first revival of religion took place in Princeton College. The great Samuel Davies, in writing about it, said: "This is perhaps the best news I ever heard in my life." President Finley, in giving an account, said: "God has done great things for us. Our glorious Redeemer poured out His Holy Spirit on the students of our College; not one of all who were present was neglected; and they were in number sixty." Other revivals occurred under Dr. Witherspoon; a very remarkable one under

Dr. Green; another under Dr. Carnahan; and another in the first year of Dr. Maclean's administration — in each of the last three, about fifty students were hopefully brought to the knowledge of the Saviour. *Jefferson* has been frequently blessed with extensive revivals of religion. *Oglethorpe University* had five revivals in seven years. *Centre College*, Ky., has enjoyed frequent outpourings of the Divine Spirit; and during the last session about thirty-five of the students have professed a hope in Christ. This revival was, as it were, a chariot of fire, to prepare the President, the good and great Dr. Young, for his ascension to glory. Congregational, and other Presbyterian, Colleges have been in like manner favoured with the displays of God's abounding mercy. In one year, 130 students in *Yale College* came out for the first time on the Lord's side. In *Middlebury College*, it is stated that every class for the last forty years has seen a revival in some part of its college course, and that at *Amherst* no class has ever graduated without beholding God's gracious power in a revival. These facts demonstrate the tendency and reward of religious efforts in colleges; and there cannot be a doubt that, if more attention had been paid to the direct inculcation of religious truth, still greater results would have been manifested in the number of College-born heirs to the kingdom of heaven. Here, gentlemen, is seen the true glory of a Christian College.

These institutions, as we have attempted to show, prepare ministers for the service of the Church; they send out useful and enlightened public men for the employment of the State, and for the liberal professions; they assist in giving efficiency and prosperity to the public educational system; and they imbue the minds of a large number of well-trained and influential youth with the spirit and principles of true piety.

I have thus, young gentlemen, endeavored to plead the cause of Colleges, and of Carroll College in particular. If my observations have been correct, Carroll College is a GOOD GIFT to the State; and it is a gift the more considerate, useful, and valuable, because Wisconsin is a GREAT STATE.

Before alluding to the present and prospective greatness of Wisconsin, permit me to refer to two historical associations, which possess no little interest.

From Wisconsin, the expedition set out, which *discovered the Upper Mississippi and the Missouri Rivers*. One hundred and thirty-two years before the Wisconsin expedition, 1541, De Soto had stood upon the banks of the Mississippi. Reaching it at the 4th Chickasaw Bluff, below Memphis, he ascended the river to New Madrid; and then striking off into the western woods in the mad adventure for gold, he wandered about until he reached the Washita, which brought him again to the Mississippi. His enfeebled

frame, however, yielded to disease; and the illustrious Spanish chieftain was buried at midnight, near Natchez, in the great river, whose waters, like human generations, sweep onward without a returning tide. The Spanish expedition had started from Cuba. through *Florida*. The next was to enter upon its discoveries from Canada, through *Wisconsin*. At so early a date did the two extremes of our future Republic meet, in the spirit of western research and adventure, Florida and Wisconsin giving the MISSISSIPPI to the United States and world.

In 1673, May 17th, MARQUETTE, the Roman Catholic missionary to the Hurons, and JOLIET, the envoy of the Canadian Governor, set out from Michilimackinac, with five Frenchmen, in two canoes. Behold them braving the rough waters of the lake with steady hands at their wave-beaten oars, encountering at the outset the trials that make heroes. "Our joy," says Marquette in his narrative, "at being chosen for this expedition, roused our courage, and sweetened the labour of rowing from morning till night." They at length glide into the propitious harbor of Green Bay, and enter the Fox River, which they ascend through Lake Winnebago to the portage, often dragging their canoes over the rapids and shallows. The portage of about a mile is crossed, and then and there on Wisconsin soil, France for the first time waves the banner of Louis XIV in the Valley of the Missis-

sippi. Alas! the Envoy of the State and the Missionary of the Church, as they float down the beautiful Wisconsin, little realize what rivers of blood are to flow, before this fair region is to be wrested, first by England from France, and then by the American Colonies from England.

On the 17th of June, the explorers reached the mouth of the Wisconsin, where they are greeted with the sight of a large and unknown river. It is the great northwestern flood rolling along in lucid and peerless majesty. Like a friendly Indian chief, apparelled in the dignity of the primeval forests and with fearless bow and arrow in hand, it is hailed as a guide to the far-off regions known only to the sons of the soil. The French canoes sail with delight upon the Mississippi. In a few days, they meet the wild waters of the rushing, conquering Missouri. Onward they go, past the beautiful Ohio, nor stop their explorations until they reach the Arkansas. The explorers, satisfied that the Mississippi enters into the Atlantic, now return homeward. They are the first civilized men that ascend the Illinois; and crossing over to the site of Chicago, they take a canoe on Lake Michigan, and return thanks to God at Michilimackinac. Thus Wisconsin has an ancient historical glory, connected with the discovery of the great rivers of the great valley.

Another interesting historical fact sheds a glory

over Wisconsin. Its territory is included within the jurisdiction of the Ordinance of 1787. Wisconsin is the last State contemplated by that great national compact, and she came into the Union whilst the ordinance was yet universally acquiesced in as worthy of a free and great people, and consonant with the spirit of '76. That ordinance of liberty was drawn up by a graduate of Harvard College, NATHAN DANE; it was originally proposed by JEFFERSON, the champion of democracy, on a still larger scale; and it finally received a unanimous vote of the Northern and Southern States in the old Confederation. Without meddling with party politics, I may affirm that it is an honour to any State to spring into existence with the ægis of liberty in her right hand; to draw her first constitutional life under an ordinance excluding forever human servitude, and to commence a career of greatness with the inspirations and the institutions of "Independence now and forever!"

Wisconsin has elements of greatness. With an independent life of only nine years, it already ranks among the first-class States of the Republic. Wisconsin has been gradually educated to its present position. It received a *common-school* education, when the Northwest was an undivided possession of the United States, and when Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were school-fellows, with a big play-ground used in common. Wisconsin received

an *academical* education in the territorial academy with Michigan; and when the latter took its degree as a State, Wisconsin pursued a *collegiate education* in its own territory, and in 1848 took the diploma of a State graduate; when, freed from authority, it entered upon active life in the great Western world.

Wisconsin has great advantages of *soil*. A considerable part of the State is prairie land, black as servitude, but free with a native liberty of marvellous productiveness; and the prairies are of the best kind, "rolling" through the vista in "oak-opening" grandeur. The Southern division of the State is supposed to be able to support as large, if not larger, population than any other equal area in the United States. All the forms of agriculture flourish in this exulting soil; and as a grain-growing State, Wisconsin will make itself known in the markets of the world. Agriculture is the main basis of general prosperity. It is the ruling power of human industry. The farmers govern the subsistence of the nations; and where agricultural resources abound, as in Wisconsin, materials exist for a great and flourishing commonwealth.

In addition to the resources of agriculture, brought from the earth by human industry, Wisconsin possesses immense natural resources in her *abounding forests*. No prairie State has such overshadowing advantages of splendid imperial timber. The ever-

greens of Wisconsin are among the glories of nature; they cover a large part of the State, estimated at about a fourth part; and their superiority of quality is as decisive as their extent of quantity. The Wisconsin pine commands the market of the West and Southwest, and finds its way up all the tributary streams of the Mississippi, and down to New Orleans, and away to foreign ports. The Maine, New York, and Allegheny pine, shrinks from comparison with the forest fulness of Wisconsin. Chicago has already become the greatest lumber market of the world; but whence are derived its principal supplies? From well-timbered Wisconsin and Michigan.

Wisconsin is equally distinguished for its *mineral resources.* Its lead is sold throughout the whole country, and in foreign markets. Two-thirds of the Galena lead is Wisconsin. Grant, Iowa, and Lafayette counties are the chief Cyclopeans around the smelting fires of the Northwest. A large quantity of the ore never comes to Galena, but is shipped at other places along the Mississippi and the Wisconsin Rivers. Iron exists to a considerable extent in the northwestern portion of the State; and the copper region is likewise included, in part, within its boundaries. There can be no doubt that Wisconsin possesses vast mineral resources, rivalling those of other States. Weighed in the huge scales of commercial value, her mineral

products move the lever with a power only inferior to Pennsylvanian ponderosity.

The *trade and commerce* of Wisconsin are rapidly developing. With the Mississippi on the west, Lake Michigan on the east, and Lake Superior on the north; with the fine harbors of Milwaukee, Racine, Sheboygan, Green Bay, and Superior; with railroads described on the State in all geometrical figures to make sure the demonstration of the problem of its greatness; and with a location commanding the trade of a large section of country, Wisconsin is becoming a commercial, as well as an agricultural, a lumber, and a mineral State. Manufactures are also humming in the air; and, like the rumbling of the wheels of an approaching locomotive, foretell that in this department, too, Wisconsin will be *up to time*.

Its *population*, made up of the siftings of many kingdoms, contains some of the finest of the wheat. The hardy, enterprising sons of New England are here, having acutely guessed their way to as beautiful a heritage as ever fell to the lot of the most deserving. New York is represented with a numerous and worthy progeny, mostly grandchildren of New England, with a slight engrafting of Stuyvesant stock. New Jersey and Pennsylvania have sent their proportion of honest yeomanry from hills and valleys, pine-barrens, wheatlands, and coal fields, to help to subjugate a better region. The Southern and South-

western States have a worthy representation among this congress of races, where two-fifths count two-fifths. The West is here with its giant force of agriculturalists and omniculturalists; and almost every kingdom of Europe, including the domain of St. Patrick, St. George, and St. Andrew, St. Denys, St. Lawrence, and other calendric heroes, sighing for Lake Michigan and government prairies, has come straight for Wisconsin; and, fortunately, the best foreign population that has reached America in this century is here, in the Badger State. The intermingling of these different classes and races, will be of the highest advantage to its prosperity.

In *education*, Wisconsin has wisely resolved not to be behind any State of the Republic. Her large fund for education, is to be sacredly applied to the enlightening of the people. A liberal common-school system has been established, which is richer than the soil of prairies, the ore of mines, or the trees of forests, and a State University stands in full view of the Capitol, the creation of its sovereign power, and the reflection of its supreme legislative wisdom. The Legislature, at its recent session, made an additional advance in promoting educational interests, by the adoption of measures which allow pecuniary grants to normal schools, and even to colleges. This is among the most important and liberal schemes devised by a State for the advancement of the public

welfare; and if the scheme can be executed in the spirit of its good intentions, without creating unpleasant disputations, or stimulating presumptuous and doubtful claims upon the public munificence, the Ordinance of 1857 will shine with no unequal glory alongside of that of 1787,—both having in view the highest good of a free people.

Wisconsin has every sign of a great State. Its population is increasing with almost unparalleled rapidity, and its resources of every kind are multiplying so fast, that the slates in the common schools are too small to calculate the future. Although the last State formed on the soil purchased by the blood of the Revolution, she walks in the procession of States with equal honour in her eye, and hope garlanding her brow, bearing aloft the thirtieth star of the American Banner, as though, were all others gone, she could well maintain her own. To found a new College in Wisconsin is a noble enterprise. It is A GOOD GIFT TO A GREAT STATE, better than the regalia of power, the trophies of war, or the monuments of ambition. May the gift be welcomed and cherished by the people, and Carroll College receive a just share of public sympathy and support among the rising institutions of rising, great Wisconsin!

Young gentlemen, you are about to go out into the active duties of life. Carrying with you the convic-

tion that religion is the friend of man, administering hope to conscience, peace to mental conflicts, solace in affliction, counsel in trouble, and rest and glory beyond the grave. One of your number has already been called from the scenes of time. MARSH has led the way of the class of 1857, to a better world. We remember him on our literary anniversary. His vacant seat pleads with mute eloquence the instability of human hopes. Like the pine, by the blows of the destroying axe, or the cypress, before the power of the storm, he has fallen. But to human mortality there is a resurrection of life; and Marsh shall stand among the saints who pass from Wisconsin graves into the radiant presence of their Lord.

Young gentlemen, if you do not already possess religion, delay no longer to secure it. It is a sad reflection to graduate "without hope and without God in the world." Delay is perilous. The shadows lengthen fastest as the sun draws nearest to the horizon. Let me say, as a friend, that the year immediately succeeding college life, is often one of more than ordinary thoughtfulness and solemnity. Observation has brought to view the fact, that a considerable number who went through college life without religion, have embraced it in that serious interval which immediately succeeds their graduation. Few, very few, after this period, apparently give themselves much concern about the salvation of the soul.

Arise to serve your country and your God. The age calls for zealous patriotism, purity of motive, steadfastness of principle. A grand field of usefulness is presented in this grand State. Wisconsin must have seemed to the Indians a land favored by the Great Spirit. Methinks the council fires of confederated tribes have been on the prairies and by the lakes where the State Capitol now stands, one of the glorious sites worthy to be the seat of Liberty and constitutional power. Where the Dacotahs and Winnebagoes once held their hunting and fishing grounds, the sons of Wisconsin now dwell in the genial quiet of advancing civilization. Oh, young gentlemen, you have a mighty State to live and work in!

Lake Michigan is named, on the oldest French maps, "Le Lac des Illinois," the lake of the *Illinois*, or of *men*. Wisconsin, from her eastern to her western shores, expects her sons to keep alive this immemorial appellation. Higher than ancient Indian or French suggestion is the authority, "Quit ye like men." Even the savages of the olden time rightly judged this fine region of country to be worthy of men of a noble order. Let Wisconsians ever rank high in the race of men; and let CARROLL MEN stand among the foremost in Wisconsin!

SIGNALS

FROM

THE ATLANTIC CABLE.

An Address, delivered at the Telegraphic Celebration, in the City Hall, Burlington, New Jersey, September 1st, 1858.

ADDRESS.

My Fellow-citizens of Burlington:

Ladies and Gentlemen.

The union of the two hemispheres is a festival event in the history of the great globe. America, from Greenland to Magellan, thrills with continental joy at the pressure of the sister hands of Europe, Asia, and Africa. And the mighty hemisphere of the East, in one family three, receives, with kindred emotion, the welcome grasp of a long-separated and absent member of the terrestrial household.

The globe is now in electric union. Ye winds, who have swept over American forests, and African deserts, and Asiatic mountains, and European plains, a new agent, swifter far than your ærial speed, is a visitant of the four quarters of the globe. Ye stars of light, who chronicle new achievements in the infinite universe, record in the book of ages the laying of the thought-wire that speaks to nations through separating gulfs. Ye mountains, sublime in the peaks of everlasting hills, let your primeval rocks and verdure respond to the human enterprise which has

mounted your Alpine heights, and has now thrown the rein of mastery over your submerged depths, and guides its way across the rugged mountain-path of waters. And thou, old ocean, majestic in the billows of thy might, that anthem the praise of God from shore to shore,—thou, who leadest the intercourse of nations by outspreading sail and grander steam, to thine azure deep is committed a new trained elemental power, from the hands of Him who rules the waves and directs the storm.

The air, the sky, the earth, the sea, send greeting to the festival of men, and make one with the nations, in their simultaneous celebration of an influential and great event in the history of the nineteenth century.

Occasions like the present have their high moral purposes. They serve to explain and illustrate the discovery they celebrate; they magnify to its true proportions the triumph of mind over matter; they secure to society an interval of intellectual and genial festivity; they exert an elevating and educating influence on the popular mind; they render homage to providential developments in the world's affairs; and they assist in bringing God to view as the great and glorious Ruler of the Universe.

Fellow-citizens of Burlington, it is becoming to the dignity of this ancient city, and to its educational and industrial spirit, to unite with other cities in this and in distant lands, in celebrating the successful

laying of the ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH. This is one of those leading and happy events in human history, which, when it occurs first, anticipates the emotions and honours of future triumphs of the same kind. Now is the time and the hour! Our celebration, on the appointed day, brings us into heartfelt connection with the general joy and praise; and the telegraphic poles of Burlington exchange signals with the wires on Albion's cliffs, and return the festival flashes, which pulse with the power of life, from our commercial metropolis to the outstretched boundaries of this great Republic.

The subject of our meditations shall be, SOME OF THE LESSONS TAUGHT BY THE LAYING OF THE ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH. If I have succeeded in reading any of them, I desire to signal to you their true import, and to stand for a few minutes in sympathetic, electric union with your minds and hearts — an operator, to explain some of the signs and the seasons in the horizon of the awe-struck world.

I. The first lesson of the submerged telegraph is clearly THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF DIVINE PROVIDENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF MEN. The time and the issuing of this event proclaim the hand of God. Occurring a century, or half a century ago, it would have been incongruous to human affairs. The world was not in a condition to appreciate or profit by an invention which antedated its necessity. God arranges all

things so that everything shall be in its place, at the right time, in the mighty system of his advancing Providence. The clock on the dial of ages strikes, only when the seconds and minutes make up the hour. As the discovery of America was not demanded by the condition of the world, prior to the bold and hopeful adventure of the divinely guided Columbus, so an oceanic telegraph came into being only when the wants of the nineteenth century sought it out among the ordained inventions of a responsive Providence. The discovery of America in 1492 stands related to the counsels of God, just as the laying of the Atlantic telegraph in 1858. God is in history. Divinity overshadows every event with grandeur, and gives to it, like the stars, its right ascension in a sphere of glory.

The successful issue of the event we celebrate, as well as its time, brings to view Divine Providence. Man walks beyond the bounds of his domain, when he undertakes to thread over, by the line of his skill, mountain peaks, submerged in ocean depths. Adventurous was he, who first unfurled a sail upon the billows of the defiant deep; but what language can express the boldness, and even hopelessness, of that enterprise that seeks to conquer, not space on the surface wave, but on the unexplored mud and cavern in the darkness of the distant bottom? To what but the interposing help of Divine Providence can be

ascribed the successful deposit, in the lower parts of the boisterous ocean, of a wire, measured in size by a human finger, and in length by a twelfth part of the distance around the globe?

In 1857, the first Atlantic experiment was made. On the 5th of August of that year, two ships, well named — the "Agamemnon," after an indomitable Greek chieftain, and thus representing the spirit of men; the "Niagara," after the great cataract, and representing the wonders of nature — these two vessels set sail with the mysterious cable, one end of which is held by the Old World, as the pledge of its firm faith in the enterprise. Five days out from land, on the 11th of August, the slender cord, intended to reach the New World, is broken by the heaving of the vessel; and the part submerged, of three hundred and forty-four miles, is left a buried and irrecoverable fragment amid the curves of the Atlantic plateau. Thus perished the hopes of the first expedition. Man's ability was inadequate to the work.

On the 10th of June, 1858, the undaunted ships again set out. Violent storms forebode disaster. The Agamemnon is shaken to and fro by the sea, as if to exult over the frailty of human workmanship, and the vessel barely escapes wreck. At last the cable is joined in mid-ocean, and the ships part for the two hemispheres. On the first day the wire is broken on the Niagara, on the second day at the bottom of the

ocean, and on the fourth day on the Agamemnon. Three failures, with the loss of three hundred and thirty-five miles of cable, again rebuke human impotency. The Niagara returns in gloom, followed by her cheerless but not discomfited compeer. The conviction settles on the popular mind that the enterprise is beyond human power. And so it is. But not beyond God's. The Lord on high is mightier than the waves of the sea.

On the third expedition the noble ships reached their mid-ocean rendezvous on the 27th of July, true to each other as the needle to the pole, and eager to make the magnet available at the bottom of the ocean as on its surface. The splice was effectually, but this time rudely made; and "the apparatus was then dropped into the sea without any formality, and indeed almost without a spectator; for those on board the ship had witnessed so many beginnings to the telegraphic line, that it was evident they despaired of there ever being an end to it." The fact is, that public opinion, both on sea and land, had reached such a point of depression and of renunciation of human ability, as to produce the general feeling that. without the special interposition of Providence, the work must prove a failure. Thus did God prepare the world to put its trust in Him alone. Where else is trust safe?

The ships now slowly part from each other in the

concealed glory of a successful mission. Painful anxiety keeps watch on both vessels. The pilots scan the sea rather than the stars, and the interest is at the stern and not at the prow. Never did maternal affection note, with more tenderness, the breathings of a new-born infant, than did the electricians the continuity of life developed by this wonderful child of nature in the cradle of the deep. Day after day passes without disaster; but, like the crisis between life and death, apprehension only increases until complete safety is announced. The logs of both ships show the variety of contingencies which alternately cherished or depressed hope. The story of the double passage reads, indeed, like the romance of the adventures in the earlier voyages of discovery. But here is the higher moral sublimity of a great and well-matured enterprise, throwing its lights and shadows over the scene! What dangers encompass the daring work! Behold the little line, sparkling by day in the sunbeams, and in the night leaving its slight, phosphorescent track of foam, like silver, on the billows. Is it to reach, at last, its twofold destination? What perils of wind and storm, of waves, and icebergs, and whales, has it to encounter! What perils of Yankee vessels dashing up with unapologizing curiosity to spy out the mystery of the strange proceedings! What perils from the uncoiling of the spiral heaps of those miles of wire; from splicing and

running out from one part of the ship to another; from the standing still, as on one occasion on the Agamemnon, of the paying-out wheels of the machinery, when the vast ship hung on to the frail cord; above all, what perils from crossing the unknown heights and valleys of the sea, unvisited by man, save by a few plunges of his long sounding-line, or by his own lifeless frame asleep in the watery sepulchre! Columbus on the prow of the Santa Maria, in search of the New World, depicts the double gaze, easterly and westerly, of the eager hearts on the Agamemnon and Niagara. The water at length shallows; the sounding-line telegraphs approaching land; the two harbors are won, and God is glorified.

On the 5th of August, the cable is landed on both shores. The Niagara's portion is carried up in glad but toiling procession to the station-house; and the end being placed in connection with the instrument, the deflection of the needle on the galvanometer shows a good electrical condition in the cable. And then and there, in the silence of the awe inspired by success from heaven, and amid the rude scenes of the station-house in the wilderness, the good Captain Hudson, assembling his men, *remembers God* and PRAYS. Few of earth's scenes were more sublime than that one, in the forests of Newfoundland. It stands out in the foreground of history, like Columbus kneeling before God on the soil of the New World,

or De Soto planting the cross on the banks of the Mississippi, or Brewster and the Pilgrims praying and singing psalms at the landing-Rock of Plymouth. Let this scene go down to posterity among the grandest memorials of our national history!

The religious services were introduced by a few appropriate words, beginning with these: "The work has been performed, not by ourselves: there has been an Almighty hand over us and aiding us; and without the divine assistance, thus extended, success was impossible." In the same spirit of "glory to God in the highest," Captain Hudson sent his first telegraphic announcement in the memorable words: "GOD HAS BEEN WITH US. THE TELEGRAPHIC CABLE IS LAID. WITHOUT ACCIDENT; AND TO HIM BE ALL THE GLORY."

This great truth, then, of *God's holy Providence in the world's affairs*, is flashed from Valentia to Trinity Bay, from Europe to America, and around the circuit of the globe, up into the bright arches of the eternal heavens.

II. Another of the lessons, signalled by the Atlantic Telegraph, is THE TRIUMPH OF HUMAN GENIUS, FAITH, AND PERSEVERANCE.

Let it be distinctly acknowledged, that every endowment of man is from God. It is the inspiration of the Almighty that giveth understanding. The triumphs of man's intellect are his own, only as the *aided* emanations of a created *instrumentality*.

The human mind, like the stars which differ in glory, has its variations of capacity. The masses are scarcely perceptible on the map of the firmament, inferior glimmerings, or nebulæ undistinguishable in the vast abyss of being. The morning and the evening star is solitary in the grandeur of its brightness. Superior intellects are rare; but with what power they attract and rule! Great men in science and the arts, whose inventions and discoveries advance civilization, reign to distant ages.

Man's intellect, however, is comparatively feeble in its best estate. The children of a succeeding generation often know more than was at first discerned by the mind of inventive genius. Three considerations modify, without disowning, the homage due to the triumphs of the human mind. *First*, new discoveries and inventions generally originate from small and suggestive incidents, and not from independent, original investigation. Thus, the falling of an apple suggested to Newton's mind the principle of gravitation. The idea of the *telescope* grew out of the experiment of a boy, who, in using two lenses, found that a church-steeple was brought nearer in an inverted form. The properties of the *magnetic needle* were discovered by "some curious persons who were amusing themselves by floating a loadstone, suspended upon a piece of cork, in a basin of water, which, when left at liberty, was observed to point to the north." The *art of*

printing derived its origin from the effort of a man in Haarlem to amuse his children by transferring to paper some letters he had cut on the smooth bark of a tree. A new epoch was created in the department of *galvanism*, or *animal electricity*, by Madame Galvani's notice of the convulsions in the muscles of frogs by the contact of metals. Electricity for telegraphic purposes was first stumbled upon by Oersted, of Copenhagen, who observed that an electric current, transmitted through a wire placed parallel to a magnetic needle, either above or below it, caused the needle to deviate to the right or left, according to the direction of the current. In short, the triumphs of genius in the arts and sciences, generally owe their origin to suggestive and casual incidents, and not to the original determinations of the human intellect.

Secondly. Discoveries and inventions are *the work of more than one mind.* Not to multiply illustrations, let us take the single subject of Electricity, the great agent in telegraphing. Dr. Gilbert, of Colchester, is the first to record, in 1660, the phenomenon of electricity, which he produced from various substances. Seven years later, Otto Guericke, of Germany, brought out the electric machine, now so common, although still an object of wonder. In 1730, Stephen Grey divided all material substances into electrics and non-electrics; and shortly after, Dufaye discovered the phenomena of attraction and repulsion. The experi-

ments of Kleist, Cunœus, and Muschenbrœk, dating from 1746, led to the discovery of the Leyden jar in 1755. About this time, Franklin proved by his little kite the identity between electricity and lightning, and gave a new impulse to the science, by establishing the universality of the fluid in nature. About 1780, Cavendish laid the foundation of chemical electricity, by decomposing air and water by means of this agent. In 1790, Galvani, and in 1800, Volta, added to the advances of this science, by the discoveries of animal magnetism and the construction of the Voltaic battery. And in 1819, Oersted announced the discovery of Electro-Magnetism, or the relations between Electricity and Magnetism, which constitutes the basis of the telegraphic art. These successive developments of this particular science, serve to show that, however great are the successes of intellect, no one mind can ever lay open the treasures of even a single vein in the strata of knowledge.

In the *third* place, it requires time to bring all discoveries into practical use. Even after the leading principle has been discovered, the human mind is slow in applying it to its practical ends. The power of steam was long known; but it was not until 1765 that Watt's invention of performing condensation in a separate vessel from the cylinder was applied to the steam engine; and still more notable, it was not until 1807, or nearly half a century later, that Fulton

succeeded in propelling a steamboat on the Hudson river; and not until 1830, that steam was successfully applied to railways."

The Electro-Magnetic Telegraph, like the Steam Engine and other inventions, is the creature of gradual development. Oersted in 1819 discovered the principle of electro-magnetic power; and in 1820, the celebrated Ampère proposed to apply the principle to a telegraph, with the crude suggestion that as many magnetic needles and as many circuits should be employed as there were characters to be indicated. Schelling and Fechner proposed the employment of fewer needles. *Gauss* demonstrated, afterwards, that the appropriate combination of a few simple signs was all that was necessary to form a language for telegraphic purposes. *Sturgeon*, of England, was the first to construct an electro-magnet by coiling a copper wire around an iron of horse-shoe shape. *Barlow*, of England, in 1825, failed to render his telegraph available, on account of the rapid diminution of the galvanic action with the distance, under the arrangements which he made. The great *desideratum* was to propel the galvanic power through an indefinite circuit of wire. In 1831, Professor *Joseph Henry*, now Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, showed by his experiments how enormously more powerful magnets might be constructed, while the battery remained the same; and he also showed *how* and *why*

the battery might be so arranged that the rapid diminution of the effect of galvanism might be prevented, so that *the effect could be produced in sufficient intensity at a great distance;* that is, so that we might TELEGRAPH. Professor Henry's discovery attracted much attention in the scientific world; but he did not himself undertake to invent a machine for telegraphing, or to decipher the language of electro-magnetism. In 1833, *Weber*, of Gottingen, found that a wire for telegraphic purposes on land required no special insulation; and in this year, in connection with *Gauss*, set in operation a telegraph between the Observatory of Gottingen and the Cabinet of Natural Philosophy, by means of a wire a mile and a half long. In 1835, Professor *Morse*, of New York, constructed in the University of New York, an electro-magnetic Telegraph, about a third of a mile long, and transmitted the word "Eureka" to paper. In 1837 much progress was made. In June of that year, *Cook* and *Wheatstone*, of England, took out their patent, using a deflective point; in July, *Steinheil* constructed a telegraph between Munich and Bogenhausen, employing a deflective needle to make dots and marks, as representatives of the alphabet; and in October of the same year, Professor *Morse* filed his caveat, which gave a general outline of his present system. In this paper, Professor Morse dates his inventions back to 1832, the year following Professor Henry's

discoveries; but telegraphing, under his superintendence, did not go into practical use on a large scale, until the completion of the Washington and Baltimore line in 1844. At first, two wires were considered necessary to make the circuit, one at the terminus and the other back. *Steinheil*, however, discovered that one-half of the circuit could be formed by the earth, and that double wires were unnecessary.

In the matter of veritable telegraphing, in the present acceptation of that word, Professor Morse, of New York, is justly entitled to pre-eminence among all the inventors of instruments that applied the previously discovered principles. So many minds have, in fact, co-operated to produce the telegraph to its present working order, that it may be called the invention of the age, rather than of any individual. Nevertheless, Professor Morse, more than any one man, has the credit of bringing the telegraph into practical use on a large scale; sustaining to the telegraph the same relation that Fulton does to steam navigation.[1]

Even after the operations of the telegraph were successful on land, it was a bold thought to drop the wire into the bed of the ocean for international com-

[1] In this brief sketch of the discoveries and inventions relating to the Telegraph — which has been compiled from the various sources accessible to the public — the *intention* has been to be impartial, and to give to each individual his due share of honour.

munication. But time assists the triumphs of genius and perseverance. In November, 1851, the submarine telegraph was laid between Dover and Calais, a distance of 23½ miles; and on the same day guns were fired at Dover by means of the electric spark, communicated from Calais. Franklin had, however, anticipated the experiment in another mode, and had fired spirits by an electric current over a river, a century before, in 1748. Planting his Leyden jar, or battery, on one side of the Schuylkill, the philosopher, as an electro-King, commanded the electric current to the other side on a wire, and then summoned it to return by way of the river and earth. Perhaps, before long, some Yankee hand, fond of exploits, may apply American electricity, through the Atlantic Ocean, to the touch-hole of British cannon, to astonish the Royal Lion and the Londoners! Various submarine telegraphs have been set in operation since 1851; but the greatest of all is the ATLANTIC TELEGRAPH of 1858.

It does not detract from this great submarine work, that so many instrumentalities were necessary to its execution. Almost every philosopher has made some contribution to the elucidation of its scientific principles, especially Oersted, Gauss, Sturgeon, Henry, Weber, Steinheil, and Wheatstone; almost every inventor has aided in bringing it into practical use, especially Gauss, Weber, Wheatstone, Morse, and

Steinheil; hundreds have assisted in laying the Atlantic cable — Brooke and Berryman in sounding and surveying the ocean path; Maury in foretelling the time of genial skies; Armstrong in applying gutta percha as the insulating material; Field in organizing the companies, furnishing the means, and superintending the whole work; the manufacturers, Glass and Elliott, and Newell, whose cunning skill wrought the ingenious wires; Berdan and Everett, who invented the paying-out machinery; Woodhouse and Canning, the engineers; Bright and Whitehouse, the electricians; Preely and Hudson, Dayman and Oldham, the commanders; Morse and Bache, in their constant and valuable counsel from beginning to end; the British and American governments, who supplied the vessels; the gallant tars and laborious workingmen, who encountered toil day and night; — but, whatever number of persons may have been employed, intellectually or physically, in laying the Atlantic cable, it is certain that the work done is a great work, and that the mind of man, which fathomed the idea and anchored it in the deep, has a mighty range for its exploits, even from the stars of heaven down to the chambers of ocean's darkness.

Whilst due honour should be awarded to all, on both sides of the Atlantic, who have aided, by thought or hand, this transmarine achievement, the names that will be forever most dear to American minds are

FRANKLIN, HENRY, MORSE, and FIELD:—*Franklin*, for identifying lightning with electricity, and thus connecting earth with the heavens; *Henry*, for devising the means and demonstrating the practicability of telegraphing through an indefinitely long circuit of wire; *Morse*, for reducing the electric current to a written language; and *Field*, for successfully executing the great sub-Atlantic enterprise.

The present commemoration holds in special honour the *laying of the Atlantic cable*. This work involved three separate and special classes of difficulties:—1. The organization of the men and means for the enterprise, including the immense cost of the experiment, which was about two millions of dollars. 2. The making of the right kind of cable, which involved the greatest skill in the selection of materials and in their mechanical combination into one cord. 3. The laying of the line at the bottom of the ocean, which required the space of two large vessels, careful coiling and uncoiling, and paying out into the sea by the most ingenious machinery.

The present celebration gives mingled homage to science, art, and practical skill. Taken all together, the combinations of the Atlantic Telegraph constitute unquestionably one of the greatest triumphs ever accomplished by the human intellect. The event teaches a lesson of faith, energy, and perseverance, to universal man.

III. Another lesson of the Atlantic Telegraph is that IT BRINGS GREAT ADVANTAGES, political, social, economical, and religious, to the world. Many benefits, numerous as its own seven-fold cord, are wrapped up in the inventory of those mysterious strands.

1. The promotion of the *friendship of nations* is one of the first natural advantages of the Atlantic Telegraph. The division of the world into different nations by means of mountains, rivers, and oceans, is a part of the arrangements of infinite goodness. Great ends of mercy, as well as of retribution, were answered by the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of mankind. In the progress of ages, the diversity, necessary to the best interests of the race, was to be relieved by the providential preparations for a more genial intercourse. The sharp, repulsive prejudices and rude hostilities of the earlier eras of civilization were to be superseded by a system of attracting influences. At the present day all the tendencies of the world's advancement are towards intercourse, unity, and peace. The swift communication of thought is the best harbinger of universal concord. As the original dispersion of mankind was accomplished by the confusion of language at the tower of Babel, so its reunion in the bonds of peace is promoted by the creation of a new, universal language, outstripping the resources of combined human tongues.

The wire itself symbolizes the union of all lands,

and the fraternity which grace is to give to the nations. Higher than physical juxtaposition is the intellectual and moral nearness of vision that outstrips the course of the sun, and becomes a universal source of light and genial attraction. The very existence of neighborly ties sanctifies intercourse. Never did Science before thus re-echo, from the deeps of the sea, the hosannahs, which rang through the firmament at the birth of the Prince of Peace: "Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace, and good-will towards men."

As a specimen of the connection between the diffusion of intelligence and national peace, it may be stated that if there had been a telegraph, the last war with Great Britain might have been avoided. The British Orders in Council, which restricted our commerce on the continent, and which constituted one of the prominent causes of our Declaration of War in 1812, were actually repealed before that declaration was made, although the slow rate at which intelligence then travelled, prevented our receipt of the intelligence in time. So also the great battle of New Orleans was fought after the preliminaries of peace were signed; but there was no telegraph to flash an armistice into the smoke of the contending armies.

In proportion as the nations are brought into daily communication, mutual respect and sympathy are engendered. Diplomacy will cease to be a mischievous

appendage to thrones and cabinets. And since no movement can occur in national policy without its instantaneous communication to the whole world, it is clear that the Telegraph must become the Oracle of Peace. Congruous to its character, is its first enunciation of peace with China, and intercourse established between the civilized world and three hundred millions of, hitherto, self-inclosed barbarians!

No two nations on the earth ought to be united by firmer bonds than those two, whose telegraphic stations now respond flash to flash. War between England and America would imperil the interests of civilization. Welcome to all Anglo-Saxon hearts is the new union-tie, which enables the Royal Queen and the Republican President to exchange, on the same day, mutual congratulations in behalf of fifty millions of kindred freemen. May the British lion and the American eagle ever dwell in peace together, and the little child of the telegraph lead them! In the eloquent language of GOVERNOR KING, of New York, at a recent celebration: "For England I have a noble kindred feeling. In common she speaks the language of Shakspeare, Milton, Bacon, and Newton; and united, we may walk down the future centuries, a mutual benefit, and the hope of struggling nations."

2. Another benefit of the Atlantic Telegraph is in its *relations to commerce*. A merchant[1] justly re-

[1] Mr. A. A. Low.

marked, in the New York Chamber of Commerce, of the newly-laid telegraph: "We hail this as a commercial enterprise, carried into effect, more than for any other purpose, to answer the demand of a growing commerce, — of a commerce guided by the light of an advancing civilization."

Intelligence aids commerce in many ways. First, it places the operations of commerce upon the true and broad foundation of knowledge. Secondly, it gives regularity to its laws. Thirdly, it stimulates its advance into all quarters of the globe. And Fourthly, it gives equality to all who engage in its enterprises.

A knowledge of the state of the markets in all parts of the world, at the time of acting, must effectually check rash and illegitimate speculation. The telegraphs in our own country have already equalized prices throughout its length and breadth, and regulated exchanges with the most exact precision. The same results will be now obtained for commercial operations between Great Britain and America, and eventually for the whole world. The quotations of the business of the day on the Royal Exchange and at the Bourse, whose transactions close an hour or two before those in Wall Street begin, will have a daily influence upon the American market. And soon, the Exchanges of all the capitals on both hemispheres being in full telegraphic and commercial

union, Commerce will possess the advantage of a new power, worthy of the mysterious winds that waft her ships, and of the grand seas that bear them in their course.

It is a remarkable fact, that one of the earliest mercantile results of the Atlantic Telegraph, was to communicate the information of renewed intercourse with China, thus placing American vessels, trading with that distant land, on the same footing with English or other foreign vessels, which otherwise would have had the start of ten or fifteen days.

The Atlantic Telegraph is to Commerce what the gathering of facts is to Science. It encourages, enlarges, purifies, invigorates, and confirms its domain. Let Commerce, then, bring her offerings from afar, gather her tributes from every shore, and wherever the winds swell the glad sails of her ship, do homage to this new benefactor of the great mercantile world.

3. The advantages of the Telegraph to *the various branches of mechanical labor* are incalculable. Knowledge and civilization are the allies of human industry. Every new invention tends to mitigate human toil, to dignify labor, to increase the sources of comfort, and to elevate the working classes, intellectually, morally, and politically. The laborer with his barrow, the blacksmith at his forge, the boat-builder in his yard, the shoemaker with his last, the tinman at his instruments, the carpenter with his saw, the mason

with his trowel, the hatter at his block, the painter with his brush, the printer at his types, the tailor with his needle, in short, all mechanics, of every occupation and grade,—and work is honourable in all; idleness is vice — I say, all mechanics are interested in, and benefited by, every discovery and invention of the age. It might have seemed to some a singular and incongruous thing, to see workingmen in New York turn out in a procession, two miles in length, on the day the success of the laying of the Atlantic cable was announced. With a full band of music and with banners, the hardy workmen, in their everyday clothes, marched in a festival procession, which extended from Union Square to the Park. This was the testimony of men of sense to the general value of the new improvement, and to its influence on their own interests and happiness. Whatever promotes the prosperity of the city and of the country, helps the cause of the laborer and the mechanic. This principle is as true as the hammer to the head of the nail, or a plummet dropping straight down by the side of a wall.

When the workingmen of New York had assembled in the Park, the President of the Commissioners of the Central Park thus forcibly addressed them:

"*Fellow-citizens and fellow-workmen of the Central Park:* This procession of laboring men of the city, turning spontaneously from their daily work into line

of two miles long, with ploughs, drays, spades, and all the insignia of labor, adds a most significant feature to the celebration of this most wonderful achievement of time. While bankers, and brokers, and shipowners, and manufacturers, are all fathoming the influence of this event upon their peculiar vocations, the intelligence of the laboring man is not behind in discovering its bearings upon his interests and the interests of labour throughout the world. Movement, activity, transportation by rail and by ship, by land and by sea, are the life of this great market-place of the West and of the East. All inventions facilitating the exchange of material products and articles, and the interchange of thought, must enhance the greatness of this metropolis; and it is not singular that you who are engaged in a work that is to add beauty to its greatness, should sympathize in an event that so deeply concerns its advancement. Whatever tends to equalize the prices of commodities, operates to arrest those sudden periodical shocks that paralyze trade and manufactures, and bear so heavily upon labour. This the ocean telegraph must do, and I find a chief gratification in a faith that points out to me this result. While officials speak of this event in the language of state, this demonstration of labor shows that the great heart of the people beats with an enthusiasm worthy of the day, and of the wonder of ages. It cannot be that this new avenue of thought, that

brings the civilized people of the earth within an hour of each other, will ever fail to subserve the highest interests of humanity."

4. The power of the telegraph in *extending the knowledge and influence of republican institutions* will aid to bless the world. Our country has remained isolated from the nations until the well-being of its free institutions has been well demonstrated in its history. The Old World has felt some of the movements of liberty; but its irregular fires of inspiration have been followed by desolation. Before the influence of America in overthrowing tyranny could be fully felt upon the earth, it was necessary to bring its system of government into closer proximity with the Old World. Steamships and the press have already contributed to this result; and now, the quick light of the telegraph exhibits, side by side, the institutions of freedom and the thrones of tyranny. The cause of liberty always gains by light. The increase of knowledge tends to the political regeneration of the earth, and to the establishment of the great principles of popular government from pole to pole.—"The tyrants of the world will quail under the searching glances of an argus-eyed public sentiment. The present system of telegraphing is, as it were, blending the mind of the world into one stupendous republic."

All inventions are in freedom's favour. It has

been said that the locomotive was a great democrat: and so it is, in the true sense of that word. In the same enlarged signification, the Atlantic Telegraph is a true republican. Railways and electric wires unite in unfolding the glories of self-government to expectant nations; and even the interest taken by Americans in the very celebration of the Atlantic Telegraph, goes up, like a jubilant shout, to cheer the hopes of the oppressed, and to warn Tyranny of its doom. Soon may Freedom's be a universal dominion:

> "And henceforth, there shall be no chain,
> Save underneath the sea,
> The wires shall murmur through the main
> Sweet songs of liberty."

5. The influence of the telegraph upon *the press* will be salutary and powerful. More than any other department of business, the press feels the power of this great enterprise, which establishes almost instantaneous communication with all parts of the world. The Telegraph will not only stimulate the desire of the people for intelligence, but it will throw increased ability and activity into the press, in order to meet the growing demands of the public. The newspaper is one of the great institutions of the age. If its necessity has ever before been questioned, all doubt of its power and usefulness vanishes before the land-

ward and seaward telegraphs, which send to the press the contributions of all nations.

6. *Science* shall receive rewards from her own achievements.

The ocean telegraph has been already of use to science, by showing what modifications the electric wave undergoes under such new circumstances. It will serve, if it endures, to throw light upon the velocity of galvanic electricity, and enable the electrician to investigate the general laws of the fluid, when thus constrained.

The Atlantic Telegraph can also be employed in determining the difference of longitude between observatories, or stations, in Europe and America, and may be brought into use for certain astronomical purposes.

It is, in short, a piece of philosophical apparatus on a grand scale. The electrician will cherish it with the love of the astronomer for his telescope, or the chemist for his retort. Its connection with farther discoveries is a certainty in an age of physical inquiry.[1]

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[1] The "London Morning Post" says, that it is understood that the Atlantic Cable *transmits* the electricity with sufficient rapidity, but that it *retains* it, time being required for its discharge, after it has been communicated to the wire. The first signal is transmitted instantaneously; but the wire does not readily part with the charge, and the electricity it retains prevents the effect of a second signal from being perceived on the

Among the rewards of science, on this occasion, is the universal homage yielded by the multitude. No longer regarded as an aristocrat of high pretensions, living in the seclusion of a grand, but selfish and useless domain, Science is welcomed as the handmaid of industry and the arts, and obtains from the masses to-day the most triumphant honours. This restoration to her true position is proof of her native dignity and worth. Never has Science received so hearty and gracious a demonstration to her praise. Whilst Jupiter places at her feet the thunderbolts of the firmament, and Neptune the trident of the Ocean, and Vulcan, the miraculous implements of Cyclopean forges, the crown of glory is placed upon her head by the Queen of Beauty, amidst acclamations which fill the conclave.

7. The benefits which the telegraph will confer upon the cause of *Religion*, are as certain as that Religion's is the greatest cause on earth. Christianity has, in the first place, a common interest in all that relates to the advancement of society. Whatever cultivates good-will among men, facilitates commerce,

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distant instrument. The difficulty, which was experienced in the Telegraph to the Hague, was overcome by discharging the wire after each signal, and this was done by sending the electrical current in the reverse direction Such an arrangement does not seem to be sufficient to put the Atlantic Cable in satisfactory working order. Science, however, will doubtless discover a remedy in due time.

stimulates industry, enlarges the sphere of free institutions, benefits the press, and aids science and knowledge, advances religion too. Every new discovery is tributary to the kingdom of Christ. Of how much use to religion has been the telescope, the microscope. the compass, the loom, the printing-press, the steam-engine! Thus will it also be with the Atlantic Telegraph, through the general relation between the progress of society and the cause of truth and righteousness.

But further than this, religion derives a direct advantage from the use of the telegraph, like the secular interests of society. A knowledge of the state of mankind in every nation, constitutes the basis of evangelical effort, and stimulates the prayer and zeal requisite to carry on its operations. If the angels of heaven were to descend, as visible messengers, to report daily the condition of the world, they would perform the service that the telegraph, in the name of heaven's King, is commissioned to do, through the inspirations of its swift-winged words. Every agent on earth is God's agent to execute his will. The luminary that compasses the circuit of the heavens, and the time-defying spark that pervades the cable of the deep, have each, in their origin, purpose, and results, a relation to Deity. God carries forward the plan of redemption by means of the vast system of events, which, each and all, small and great, old

and new, make up the glory of Providence. Telegraphs ride over mountains, and leap through the seas, that they may prepare the highway of the Lord, and be the forerunners of the chariots of his salvation.

It is easy to realize that this great invention of the century impresses upon the mind and heart of the religious world the idea of UNITY, and thus aids in creating a power, antagonistic to the injurious separations and alienations, too long prevalent in the Church. A better era is at hand. Unity is the familiar lesson among the religious demonstrations of Providence. Unity is the loving truth of Gospel grace. Unity springs from genuine Christian intercourse, like the morning light, to bless the world. Unity gladdens the train of enlarged evangelical efforts among the millions of mankind. Unity is celebrated by the moral influences of each world-related event. Unity is transmitted, with the love of God, to the Church, in every new memorial of His power and glory.

Such is a brief view of the general blessings radiating from this work of light, whose success we are met to celebrate.

It is not, indeed, to be disguised that the telegraph may also be employed for purposes of evil. If Satan transformed himself into an angel of light, it is no marvel if he still use the agency of light in strength-

ening his influence and dominion. But, for the purposes of the wicked, light is the most hazardous and self-destructive of all weapons. The devil, in his attempts to quote Scripture, was overwhelmed by the replies of the Son of Man. All assaults upon the cause of truth and liberty through the telegraph, will be repelled by the avenging power of right, in the Providence of the Most High.

IV. Another thought is transmitted through the Atlantic Telegraph, as a commemorative lesson to the immortal minds that celebrate its achievement. It is that this great event is among the most impressive, as well as the latest, of the providential indications of THE APPROACH OF THE MILLENNIUM.

The age in which we live is intense with activity, change, and progress. There seems to be a marshalling of events to terminate a great and triumphant campaign. Behold the nations of Europe sighing after a better day amid the gloom of ancient systems, the Ottoman empire expiring in desolate impotence, the great and portentous commotions that have swept over India's plains, the Jews looking to Palestine with revived national aspirations, the unfolding of the gates of China to the intercourse of a long-excluded world, the grand preparations on the Pacific's shores, the opening of Central America as the highroad to the recovery of the kingdoms farther south, the numerous and industrious explorations in

Africa, as if to connect her, in time, with the general movement of this electric age; and, above all, behold the progress of Christianity in every land, and especially the existing revival of religion which is gilding the mountain-tops, and breaking in with glory upon the darkness of thousands and ten thousands of human hearts; — all these, with other providential declarations in the political and religious world, announce a crisis in human history. The horoscope of Time points to great changes in the zodiac of nations; and all the events on this world of wonders seem to be propelling it towards a sublimer destiny. The kingdoms of the earth, as at the Advent of Christ, are in providential training, with a great expectation; and just at this period, the telegraphic achievement towards universal progress and unity startles continents into awe.

What is the consummation, foretold by this combination of uniform signs? It is no less than the MILLENNIUM — when the Lord shall reign King of nations as He is King of saints. This event, according to Prophecy, cannot now be far distant. Its exact period is, doubtless, beyond the computations of the human mind. Biblical scholars differ about the time of the commencement of the latter-day glory, mainly because they differ about the commencement of certain eras, spoken of by Daniel and John, in reference to the duration of the reign of Antichrist,

whatever may be meant by that term. Many students of prophecy in the Protestant Church have fixed upon the year 1866 as the one that is to witness "the beginning of the end."

Assuming the year 606 (the time when the Emperor Phocas conferred on Boniface III the title of Universal Bishop), as the year for the commencement of the persecution of the Church, they add to it the 1260 years, which mark the precise time of the reign of Antichrist, and thus arrive at the result of 1866, as an important era, preliminary to the Millennium, if not actually introductory to it. Some, however, reckon the 1260 years from the year 756, when the Emperor Pepin gave temporal dominion to the Universal Bishop, and thus fixed the millennial epoch in the year 2016. Admitting this latter computation to be the most probable, the interval between 1866 and 2016 is not longer than might be expected, for putting into complete and successful operation all the means requisite for the full introduction of the Millennium; although God may bring it to pass at any period, like the sudden and universal illumination of the firmament by His messenger lightnings.

There can be little doubt that the millennial glory is to begin before many years. One of its antecedents is the preaching of the Gospel to every creature, a great spiritual work, which is in the course of victory. The prediction that in those days "many shall

run to and fro, and knowledge be increased" is being remarkably fulfilled by the aspects of the times. The text places intercourse and knowledge in conjunction; just as the railway and the telegraph, which are the champions of each, and each of both, are usually found in juxtaposition. The telegraph will soon sway its amazing power in every realm; yea, it already reigns. "There is no speech, no language; their voice is not heard. Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world." The quick, pervading nature of the telegraph is suited to a day of knowledge. Its cord harmonizes with the universal song: "Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace, good-will toward men." Soon will it announce that nations have beaten "their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks," and that "the earth is filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea."

Nor is there any agent in nature that so well symbolizes the instantaneous transactions of the resurrection morn. "In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed." Amidst these scenes of miraculous transition, there shall be "NO MORE SEA," and "TIME SHALL BE NO LONGER."

Help us all, heavenly Father, to be prepared for

these great events of immortality! And may our beloved land, with its banner of stars as an ensign among the nations, be among the foremost to promote the glory of the latter-day, and to utter with its telegraphs and its voices, "the kingdoms of this world have become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign forever and ever!"

PRESBYTERIAN VIEWS

ON

SLAVEHOLDING.

The Letters and Rejoinders on Slaveholding, contained in this Series, were called forth by the letters of Rev. Dr. Armstrong, of Virginia.

Dr. Armstrong's letters can be found in the "Presbyterian Magazine" for 1858.

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ARTICLE I.

ON THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINE OF SLAVEHOLDING.

To the Rev. George D. Armstrong, D.D.:

Your three Letters on Slavery have been read by me with great interest. They cover ground, not often distinctly included in the field of discussion, and they exhibit diversities of sentiment which rightly claim a candid consideration.

The appellation of a "Conservative," which you have been pleased to apply to me, gives me satisfaction. I have always professed to be "conservative" on this exciting subject; repudiating, on the one hand, the fundamental principle of fanatical abolitionism, which makes slaveholding always and everywhere sinful, and, on the other hand, rejecting with equal conscientiousness the ultra defences of slavery, which constitute it a Divine ordinance, in the sense that civil government is "ordained of God," and which claim for it an undefined permanence.[1]

[1] I am a little surprised that, in the popular classification of "Abolitionist, Conservative, and Pro-slavery man," you so quietly assume the appellation of the latter. Whether I admit the propriety of your proposed designation of "Philosophical, Philosophico-Scriptural, and Scriptural," you will better understand after you have read my letters. The only true division is Scriptural and Unscriptural.

I follow your example in making a few preliminary remarks.

1. Some of our mutual friends, who are fearful of the agitation of slavery in our Church, have advised me not to reply to your letters. But if any danger was to be apprehended, the alarm ought to have been sounded before so much had been written from the other side of the line. It is quite probable that a brief notice of my brief review would have been allowed to pass without any answer. My position, however, is very much changed, after three long letters, containing an elaborate and skilful attack on the conservative views prevalent in the Presbyterian Church, have been extensively circulated. I am glad that you concur with me in the opinion that the discussion of the points at issue between us "cannot involve any agitation of the Church."

2. The whole truth pertaining to this subject is of the utmost consequence. Slavery is among the prominent practical questions of the age. The destiny of several millions of human beings is more or less affected by the views of ministers and others, who, like yourself, possess an extensive influence in the formation of public opinion. I cannot shrink from any lawful responsibility in candidly and boldly maintaining what I conceive to be the true philosophy and morals of slavery, as set forth in the Scriptures, and in the testimonies of the Presbyterian Church.

No servant of Christ should exhibit a false timidity when providentially challenged to defend the right.

3. Your candour and courtesy are models for my imitation. We undoubtedly entertain sentiments in regard to slavery, coincident in the main, but varying in importance according to the standpoint of different readers. Neither of us is a prejudiced partisan. Like yourself, although born at the North, I have lived at the South, and have learned, both there and here. to sympathize with my brethren who are involved in the evils of this perplexing social system. In Virginia I completed my theological education, was licensed and ordained by "the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery" of West Hanover, and commenced my ministry as a missionary to the slaves on the plantations of the Roanoke and Dan Rivers. These personalities are mentioned to show that we are, in some respects at least, on a level in this discussion. It is better for ministers of the same Church, who mutually appreciate each other's objects and position, and who endeavour candidly to arrive at the truth, to hold a Christian correspondence on slavery, than for boisterous and uncharitable partisans to break lances for victory in a crowd of excited spectators. The present opportunity is a good one for mutual explanations, which may possibly produce a nearer approximation to agreement than is indi-

cated by the line of separation marked out by some of your arguments.

4. The discussion embraces the whole subject of slavery, and not merely the points which might by some be placed within the limits of Church authority. According to your judgment, "the points on which we differ lie *entirely outside* of the proper range of ecclesiastical action." I shall hereafter express my views in regard to this particular opinion, contenting myself, for the present, with the simple affirmation, that I write with all the light I can obtain from the Bible, and with whatever illumination the Spirit of God may graciously grant. Without discussing at present the precise range of ecclesiastical action, I shall endeavor to seek "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

5. The general form of a discussion depends upon the positions of those who engage in it. When I discussed the subject of slavery in 1835, my object was to examine and expose the two fundamental principles of ultra abolitionism: viz., that slaveholding is always and everywhere sinful, and that emancipation is an immediate and universal duty. On the present occasion, I am called upon to defend the scriptural doctrine against arguments which seem to advocate (in a comparatively mild form) ultra pro-slavery views. The Bible, as well as the Presbyterian testimony founded upon it, points to a clear, deep

channel between these two dangerous passes. The Assembly's testimonies of 1818 and 1845, I regard as scriptural, harmonious, and, for the present at least, sufficient; occupying, as they do, the true position between two extremes, and vindicating the opinions of those whom you rightly call "conservatives."

I now proceed to the subject of your first Letter, viz., THE PROPER STATEMENT OF THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINE OF SLAVERY.

Your statement is: "*Slaveholding is not a sin in the sight of God, and is not to be accounted an offence by his Church.*"

My statement is: "*Slaveholding*[1] *is not necessarily and in all circumstances sinful.*"

My statement was written *currente calamo*, without any intention to propound an exact formula of the scriptural doctrine. Some might prefer to either statement one in these words: "Slaveholding, in itself considered, is not sinful," or "All slaveholding is not sinful;" or "There is a slaveholding, which is consistent with the Christian profession." I adhere, however, to what I have written; because, whilst my original form of statement includes the lawfulness of the relation, in itself considered, it also more clearly expresses the idea that circumstances may render the

[1] I have substituted "slaveholding" for "slavery," in order to remove all ambiguity in the terms.

continuance of the relation wrong. It brings out, in my judgment, *more* scriptural truth on the subject than any of the forms mentioned, and especially than yours.

All admit that slavery, in a worse form than that which now exists in this country, prevailed throughout the Roman empire. As a *system* in actual operation, with its cruel laws and usages, the Apostles could have no more approved it than they did the despotism of Nero. And yet they nowhere condemned the relation itself as necessarily sinful. Despotism maintains a relation to civil government analogous to that which slaveholding sustains to the household. Absolute authority may exist in both relations, under certain circumstances, without sin. The inspired writers uniformly treat both despotism and slaveholding as forms of society which circumstances might justify.

The Bible contains no formal statement of the doctrine of slavery, but enforces the duties growing out of the relation. A correct statement of the scriptural mode of treating slavery might be in these words: "All masters and all slaves are bound to perform their relative duties, arising from legal authority on the one hand, and from enjoined submission on the other." You had, undoubtedly, the right to exhibit the doctrine of slaveholding in the more abstract form, propounded in your volume. But, I think that

the reader of your volume and letters does not receive the full impression of scripture truth and exhortation, properly pertaining to this subject. Your unqualified statement that "slaveholding is not a sin in the sight of God," seems to me to fall short of a perfect formula, even from "the admitted, scriptural premises" adduced, and by me cordially acquiesced in. I submit a brief commentary on these "admitted, scriptural premises," by way of developing the argument. 1. If "slaveholding does not appear in any catalogue of sins," this fact proves that it is not *malum in se.* It is also deserving of notice that slaveholding does not appear in any enumeration of virtues and graces. 2. The Apostles received slaveholders to the communion, and so they did despots and their abettors in Cæsar's household. 3. Paul sent back a fugitive slave, and would also have sent back a deserter from the imperial army. 4. The injunction to slaves to obey their masters does not approve of slavery, any more than the command to submit to "the powers that be," implied approbation of Nero's despotism. 5. The distinctions of slavery in regard to the interests of Christian life are, like all other outward distinctions, of comparatively little importance; and yet the general injunction of Paul on this subject was: "Art thou called, being a slave? care not for it. But if thou mayst be free, *use it rather.*" 6. The Christian doctrine of Paul respect-

ing the mutual duties of masters and servants is clearly wholesome, and utterly subversive of modern abolitionism; but whilst it proves that the relation is not in itself sinful, it does not sanction the relation as a desirable and permanent one. 7. Christian ministers, who preach to the slaves insurrection, instead of submission, and who denounce slaveholding as necessarily and always sinful, are on unscriptural and dangerous ground.

In my judgment, your "admitted scriptural premises" do not warrant the unqualified statement of doctrine which you have laid down. My commentary is simply designed as a rebutter to your too broad conclusions.

Slaveholding, in itself considered, is not sinful; that is to say, it is not a *malum in se;* or, in other words, it is a relation that may be justified by circumstances. When we say that the relation itself is not sinful, we do not mean, by the expression, a mere abstraction; for slavery cannot be conceived of apart from a master and a slave. But we mean that slaveholding, as a practical relation, depends upon certain conditions for its justification. What is *malum in se* cannot be justified by any circumstances; the law of God always condemns it. But slaveholding being among things "*indifferent*" in morals, it may be right or wrong, according to the conditions of its existence.

Hence your definition, which excludes circumstances, comes short of the full Scripture doctrine.

Three sources of your defective statement, as it appears to me, deserve consideration.

1. You have erred in placing the relation of master and slave on the same basis with that of parent and child. Your illustration assumes too much on this point. There are specific and fundamental differences between these two relations. The marriage relation is divinely constituted; it existed anterior to sin; it is normal in its character and permanent in duration; and it is honourable in all. Whereas the relation of master and slave cannot be said to be more than providentially permitted or sanctioned; it originated, as you admit, by the wickedness of "man-stealing," and by a violation of the laws of God; it implies an abnormal condition of things, and is therefore temporary; and it must be acknowledged, that it is in discredit generally throughout Christendom. The two relations are quite distinct in their nature. That of master and slave is not, indeed, in itself, sinful; but it cannot be looked upon with the complacency with which the parental relation is contemplated. The parental relation and slaveholding, possess, of course, some affinities. They may fall into the same category, if the classification be made wide enough; for both belong to the social state, and have relative duties. Or, if the classification be made even

narrower, they may still be arranged under the same category, for both imply the possession of absolute power. But, if the classification be into natural relations, and those relations which arise from circumstances, then marriage goes into the former category, and slavery into the latter. It is only within a certain compass, therefore, that we can reason from one to the other, without danger of pernicious fallacies.

2. In the second place, your unqualified proposition that "slaveholding is not sinful," mistakes the scriptural view by implying its lawfulness *everywhere and under all circumstances.* The relation of master and slave may be lawful in Virginia at the present time. But is it lawful in New Jersey, or in New England? And will it *always* be lawful in Virginia? I apprehend not. The good of the slave and of the community is the great law controlling the existence of the relation. If a slaveholder were to remove from Virginia into New Jersey, your proposition loses all its virtue, and collapses into error. Slaveholding is sinful by the laws of that State; and even if there were no law prohibiting its existence on the statute-book, could the citizens of New Jersey become slaveholders under the plea that "slaveholding is not a sin in the sight of God?" Again, is it clear, that citizens in the Free States can always lawfully enter into this relation, when they remove into States where the laws sanction it? Under the shelter of your propo-

sition, they might do so; but it is certain, that there are tens of thousands of Christians in the Free States, who could not enter voluntarily into this relation without involving their consciences in sin. Slavery, even in the Slave States, where it may lawfully exist at the present time, is abnormal and exceptional, and is to be justified only by circumstances. This your definition overlooks.

3. In the third place, your statement passes by the testimony of the Old Testament dispensation. Moses found slavery an institution in existence, and treated it as an admitted evil. Tolerating it under the peculiar condition of society, the laws of the Hebrew Commonwealth were framed with a view to mitigate its evils, to restrict its limits, and finally to discountenance it altogether. The distinction between the lawfulness of enslaving Israelites and Gentiles, with various other discriminating regulations, shows that Moses took circumstances into view in his legislation on this subject. Even under the Jewish dispensation, your statements would not have been received as a full and definite exposition of the true doctrine of slavery. My original statement, that "slaveholding is not necessarily and under all circumstances sinful," accords better, both with the letter of the Old Testament dispensation, and the spirit of the New, than does yours.

What I especially insist upon, in a scriptural state-

ment of the doctrine of slavery is, that the relation itself shall not be confounded with the injustice of slave laws on the one hand, nor separated, on the other hand, from the providential circumstances or condition of society, where it claims a lawful existence.

If you therefore ask, generally, why, in my statement, I qualify the relation by the words "not necessarily and in all circumstances sinful," I reply, that the possession of despotic power is a thing to be justified, and for which a good reason is always to be given. Marriage is to continue as long as the race, and is in its own nature everywhere lawful. Not so with slavery. You, yourself, contend in your book, that it was originally wrong, and that the men-stealers in Africa, and, inferentially, the slave-buyers in America, of that generation, sinned against God by their mutual traffic in flesh and blood. Slavery does not, like marriage, arise from the nature of man. It exists only from the peculiar condition of the slave class. And, therefore, a scriptural statement must not ignore a reference to providential developments; and it is right to characterize the relation by words which qualify its lawfulness.

Again. If you ask how circumstances can make a relation sinful, which, in itself, may be lawful, I

reply, that circumstances always control the moral character of those relations and actions, which belong in morals to things "indifferent," or the *adiaphora*. Some things, like idolatry and manstealing, are *mala in se*, and can be justified by no circumstances whatever. Other things, like polygamy, were tolerated under the old Testament dispensation, but not under the New. Other things, as slavery, were tolerated under both dispensations; but neither under the Old nor the New dispensation was slavery recognized as lawful, apart from the circumstances of its origin and the attending conditions. The circumstances, in the midst of which slaveholding finds itself, will always be an element to enter into its justification, or condemnation, at the bar of righteousness.

Again. If you press me still closer, and ask more particularly, how the qualifying and restrictive language employed by me, is consistent with the language of Scripture in regard to the duties of masters and slaves,—which many interpret as giving full and universal sanction to the system of slaveholding,—I reply, *first*, that the mere injunction of relative duties, as has been already intimated, does not imply full approbation of a relation, which circumstances may for a time render lawful, and the duties of which require clear specification. The general duty of submission to the established government, does not prove

that all despots are sinless in obtaining and in retaining their absolute power. Servants are required to be subject not only to good and gentle, but to froward masters, who make them suffer wrongfully. (1 Peter 2 : 18, 19.) This, however, does not make such frowardness and cruelty, on the part of the master, sinless. And, generally, the meekness with which we are required to bear insult and injury, does not justify those wrongs. Doddridge says : " I should think it unlawful to resist the most unjust power that could be imagined, if there was a probability of doing mischief by it." But this cannot make what is wrong and pernicious in any particular form or circumstances, sacred, divine, and immutable. Polygamy, which was tolerated under the Old Testament, under certain conditions, was a relation of mutual rights and obligations ; but was polygamy, therefore, on a level with the marriage relation, and was it an institution that could be perpetuated without sin ? Certainly not. Nor does the exhortation to masters and servants imply anything more than that the prescribed relative duties are to be discharged as long as the relation may be lawfully continued. *Secondly*, the duties of submission, heart-service, etc., on the part of the slaves, and the corresponding duties of the masters, belong to my statement as much as they do to yours. The performance of these mutual duties is essential to the solution of the problem of slavery, and to the

inauguration of the new circumstances which may make its continuance a wrong. *Thirdly*, slaveholding not being a *malum in se*, no scriptural exhortation against the relation under all circumstances, would have been consistent with truth and righteousness. Hence, neither despotism nor slaveholding receives from the Scriptures the undiscriminating anathemas hurled by modern fanatics. Their temporary justification depends on circumstances of which the rulers and masters of each generation must judge, as in sight of the Ruler and Master in heaven. *Fourthly*, The general spirit of the doctrines and precepts of the Bible operates unequivocally and decidedly against the permanence of slavery in the household, or of despotism in the State. An emphatic testimony is rendered on the pages of revelation against these relations, whose origin is in human sins and woes, and whose continuance is justified only by the public good. Instead of precise rules, which the wisdom of God has not prescribed for the eradication of all the evils of society, the Gospel substitutes sublime and heart-moving principles, which make the Christian "a law unto himself," and transform, through the Spirit, human nature into the image of the divine.

After all, we both agree in the fundamental position that slavery *may* exist without sin; that the relation, in itself considered, is not sinful. You

prefer your statement of the doctrine, and I prefer mine. You imagine, in comparing my statement with Scripture, that you discern "discord," and catch the sound of "quavering notes;" whilst, to my ears, your statement sounds like an old tune with unpleasant alterations, and withal, set on so high a key as to endanger falsetto in unskilful voices. It is my honest conviction that my formula approaches the nearest to the true doctrine of Scripture.

The correctness of my form of statement is, I think, confirmed by several considerations.

In the first place, this mode of stating the scriptural doctrine of slavery *coincides with the testimonies of the Presbyterian Church.*

The General Assembly of 1818 uses the following language:

"We do, indeed, tenderly sympathize with those portions of our Church and our country where the evil of slavery has been entailed; where a great, and the most virtuous, part of the community, abhor slavery, and wish its extermination as sincerely as any others; but where the number of slaves, their ignorance, and their vicious habits generally, render an immediate and universal emancipation *inconsistent alike with the safety and happiness of the master and slave.* With those who are *thus circumstanced,* we repeat that we tenderly sympathize. At the same time, we earnestly exhort them to continue, and, if possible, to increase their exertions to effect a total abolition of slavery. We exhort them to suffer no greater delay to take place in this most interesting concern, than *a regard to the public welfare* truly and indispensably demands."

Here, it will be seen, the doctrine of our Assembly is, that circumstances control the continuance of slavery. This relation is justifiable, or otherwise, according as "the happiness of the master and slave" and "the public welfare" are promoted by it.

The paper adopted by the General Assembly in 1845, by a vote of 168 to 13, assumes the same principle, and substantially adopts the form of my original statement. It says:

"The question, which is now unhappily agitating and dividing other branches of the Church, is whether the holding of slaves is, *under all circumstances*, a heinous sin, calling for the discipline of the Church." p. 812. "The question, which this Assembly is called upon to decide is this: Do the Scriptures teach that the holding of slaves, *without regard to circumstances*, is a sin?" p. 812.

You perceive that the question is stated in words which resemble very much the words of a "Conservative." Further:

"The Apostles did not denounce the *relation itself* as sinful." "The Assembly cannot denounce the holding of slaves as *necessarily* a heinous and scandalous sin." p. 812. "The existence of domestic slavery, *under the circumstances* in which it is found in the southern portion of the country, is no bar to Christian communion." p. 813.

Whilst my statement of the doctrine of slavery coincides with the utterances of the Church, many will think that yours comes far short of it. Whatever added explanations may cause it to approximate to the language of the General Assembly, the naked

words are as dissimilar, as a leafless tree is from one of living green.

As you frequently quote Dr. HODGE, I also will take the liberty of exhibiting the opinions of the distintinguished Professor, in their true connection with the point at issue. I ask your particular attention to these extracts from the Biblical Repertory, which might be extended, if necessary:

"An equally obvious deduction [from the Scriptures] is, that slaveholding is *not necessarily sinful.*" 1836, p. 277.

"Both political despotism and domestic slavery belong in morals to the *adiaphora*, to things indifferent. They may be expedient or inexpedient, right or wrong, *according to circumstances.* Belonging to the same class, they should be treated in the same way. Neither is to be denounced as *necessarily sinful*, and to be abolished immediately *under all circumstances.*" p. 286.

"Slavery is a question of circumstances, and not a *malum in se.*" "Simply to prove that slaveholding interferes with natural rights, is not enough to justify the conclusion that it is *necessarily* and universally *sinful.*" p. 292.

"These forms of society [despotism, slavery, etc.], are not necessarily, or in themselves, just or unjust; but become one or the other *according to circumstances.*" p. 295.

"Monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, domestic slavery, are right or wrong, as they are, *for the time being, conducive to this great end* [intellectual and moral elevation] or the reverse." p. 302.

"We have ever maintained that slaveholding is *not in itself sinful;* that the right to personal liberty is *conditioned* by the ability to exercise beneficially that right." 1849, p. 601.

"Nothing can be more distinct than the right to hold slaves *in certain circumstances*, and the right to render slavery perpetual." p. 603.

These quotations prove that Dr. Hodge unites with the great body of our Church, north and south, east and west, in limiting the lawfulness of slaveholding by the very terms of its formal definition, at the same time that he earnestly contends, with all who are on scriptural ground, that the relation, in itself considered, is not sinful. The "conservatives" of the Church everywhere uphold all the testimonies of the General Assembly, in their true spirit and very letter.

Another consideration, confirming the belief that my statement is the better of the two, is that *it is more philosophical in its form*. The conditions of an ethical proposition relating to slavery, as furnished by yourself, are threefold. 1. The proposition must be in the usual form of ethical propositions. 2. It must be so expressed as to require no explanations. 3. It should cover all the ground which Christianity covers.

1. The usual form of ethical propositions in regard to the *adiaphora*, or things indifferent, includes a reference to circumstances. Whether the proposition be expressed in a positive or negative form, is not of much account, provided the meaning be clear. Your own statement is a negative one; but the difficulty is that its meaning is not plain. If the word *despotism*, or *war*, be substituted for *slavery* in our respective statements, I think you will see at once that your statement does not express the true idea, so well as

mine. The proposition that "despotism, or war, is not a sin in the sight of God," is not a true ethical proposition. Because, like slavery, despotism and war seek their justification in circumstances. Circumstances cannot be omitted from a philosophical proposition on "things indifferent."

Your objection to my statement appears to be that it does not clearly admit the morality of slaveholding, but that it acquits the master with a sort of "whip and clear him" judgment. This latter expression, if I understand it, means "strike first, and then acquit." Very far from such a rude proceeding is the intention, or tendency, of my argument. The force of it is simply to put the slaveholder in a position which demands him to justify himself before God, which every Christian ought always to be ready to do. I explicitly maintain that the relation may be a lawful one, and that the Christian performance of its duties often brings peculiar honour upon the slaveholder, and calls into exercise some of the most shining graces of the Gospel. But slaveholding, although not *malum in se*, is not a natural and permanent phase of civilization. Like despotism or war, it is to be justified, or condemned, by the condition of things and the necessities of the case. It does not, in itself, imply an unchristian spirit, or unchristian conduct; and hence our Church has always refused to recognize it as under all circumstances an "offence"

and "a bar to Christian communion." My proposition throws no suspicion, or reproach, upon any one who is in a true and justifiable position; and the very fact that it includes circumstances as an element in the solution of its morality, proves it to be philosophically sound.

2. If the proposition, in order to be correctly stated, must require no explanations, I think that my form has considerable advantage over yours. "Slavery is not necessarily and in all circumstances sinful" is a general proposition, containing, without the need of explanation, the ethical truths on the subject. Your proposition, "Slavery is not a sin in the sight of God," is liable at once to the doubt, whether it is intended to be a universal or a particular proposition; that is, whether you mean to say, "*no* slaveholding is sinful," or only that "*some* slaveholding is not sinful." The needed explanation, against which you protest, is actually given by you in another part of your letter, where you say that your statement by no means "involves the idea that all slaveholding is sinless in the sight of God," or in other words, *some* slaveholding is not a sin. How this could be expressed with more rigid accuracy than in my formula of "slavery is not necessarily and in all circumstances sinful," it is for you to show. Why my formula does not more exactly express your belief than your own, which you would substitute for it, is also for you to show.

Your statement fails to endure the philosophical test brought forward by yourself. It must have explanations, before the reader can even understand whether it is a universal or particular proposition.

Permit me to add, that even some of your explanations seem to need explanation. For example, in your illustration about the despotism of France, you say that this despotism is "*at the present day*, demanded by the *general good* of the French nation," and then go on to say, that "the time may come when the general good will demand a *different form of government in France*." Here you propound my doctrine exactly; and if you will only allow this explanation about despotism to enter into your proposition about slaveholding, it becomes identical with my own. But inasmuch as you insist, that "every general proposition shall be so expressed as to bear examination." "*apart from all explanation*," you prove that your proposition, as it stands, is not a general, but a particular one, and that mine is really the universal and the philosophical proposition. Again; your proposition demands explanation, as a practical standard of right conduct as well as of sound philosophy. The proposition, that "slaveholding is not a sin," requires explanation, if you apply the doctrine to the first generation, who, as is generally believed, wrongfully purchased the slaves, and thus abetted manstealing, and entailed this unnatural relation upon succeeding

generations. It requires explanation, if, anywhere at the South, the good of one or more slaves, and the glory of God, would be promoted by their emancipation. It requires explanation in the Free States, where slavery is prohibited by law, and where the welfare of society does not require the existence of this institution. On the other hand, my proposition that "slavery is not necessarily and in all circumstances sinful," expresses the truth without explanation." No proposition can be expected to define the circumstances under which slavery in every instance may be justified or not. It is sufficient for the purposes of a general statement, to give slaveholding a place among things indifferent (*adiaphora*), and to imply that it is not a permanent institution, based, like marriage, upon the law of God, but one that owes its continuance to the necessities of the public welfare.

3. If the proposition must cover all the ground covered by the doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, then I think that your statement again suffers in comparison with mine. This point has been already discussed. The substance of the scriptural doctrine, in my opinion, is briefly this: First. Slaveholding, in itself considered, is not sinful; or, it is not a *malum in se*. Secondly. It is a relation of mutual rights and obligations as long as it exists. And, thirdly. The general spirit and precepts of the Gospel are

opposed to its perpetuity. I consider that my proposition, in this and in other respects, meets your ethical conditions better than your own.

A third collateral consideration, in favour of my form of stating the scriptural doctrine of Slavery, is, that it commends itself more to the enlightened conscience of the Christian slaveholder.

Christians, whose minds and hearts are imbued with the spirit of their Lord, cannot regard with complacency an institution, whose origin is in wrong, and whose continuance depends upon the inferior condition of a large class of their fellow-men. During my residence at the South, of three years, I do not remember of hearing any justification of slavery, except that which appealed to the actual necessities of the case. It was everywhere said: "The slaves are not fit to be free; neither their own nor the general welfare would be promoted by immediate emancipation." The lawfulness of continuing the relation under such circumstances could not be called in question. I am confident that the enlightened consciences of southern Christians, prefer a definition of slavery which includes the providential aspect of the case. No abstract proposition, like yours, will place the vindication of slavery on high enough ground to pacify the consciences of those Christians who hold their fellow-men in bondage.

But whilst the language of my statement of the doctrine really justifies, with a high reason, the lawfulness of the relation, if lawful under the circumstances, the other advantage it has over your statement is in keeping the conscience awake to the obligations of improving the condition of the slaves, with a view to a restoration of their natural rights in a more perfect form of society. If slavery is only to be justified by circumstances, the inquiry must press itself upon the conscience of the Christian master, whether, in the first place, the circumstances and condition of society constitute a sufficient plea, in his judgment, for his present position as a slaveholder; and in the second place, whether he is doing all he can, as a citizen of the State, and a member of the household of Christ, to remove all unjust enactments from the statute-book, and to break down the barriers of intellectual and moral degradation, which are in the way of ultimate emancipation. Although "slavery is not necessarily and in all circumstances sinful," it may become so under circumstances where the elevation of the slave concurs with other conditions in rendering his emancipation a benefit.

I claim, therefore, that my statement of the doctrine of slavery surpasses yours, both in its power to relieve the conscience, if charged with the guilt of the existing relation, and in its power to alarm the conscience, if in danger of neglecting the whole duties

implied in the relation. My knowledge of southern Christian society gives me boldness in placing this view of the subject before the minds and hearts and consciences of my brethren; for never has it been my privilege to be brought in contact with purer and more devoted servants of our Lord Jesus Christ, than are to be found in the Southern States. With all deference, and in all confidence, I submit to them the truthfulness of the positions taken in this letter.

There is still one more consideration that gives scriptural weight to my form of stating the doctrine of slavery, namely, its *practical power to resist error.*

The fundamental principle of ultra abolitionism is that slaveholding is in itself sinful. The only efficacious mode of encountering this fanaticism, is to show from the Bible, that it rests upon a false foundation. The doctrines that abolitionism cannot resist, are, first, that the relation itself must neither be confounded with the unjust laws which define the *system,* nor with the inadequate performance of the duties of the relation; and secondly, that slaveholding is not *malum in se,* but right or wrong according to circumstances. This double-edged sword of truth will pierce to the dividing asunder of the bones of rampant abolitionism. Indeed, some of the distinguished leaders of that faction have virtually conceded the scriptural efficiency of these positions, and the great mass of people in the Free

States will do homage to their truth. The doctrine that "slavery is not necessarily and in all circumstances sinful," is the contradictory of the abolition dogma; and its establishment in this very form, will most effectally arrest the encroachments of error, and vindicate the cause of righteousness in a perverse generation. Your bare statement, however, that "slaveholding is not a sin in the sight of God," does not meet the case; like a spent arrow, it falls short of the mark. It is a correct statement, to a certain extent; but it does not include providential circumstances, which necessarily enter into the morality of slaveholding. As a weapon to do battle with, your proposition invites assault, without the power to repel. It lacks the scriptural characteristic of fighting a good fight. It carries with it no available and victorious force. It provokes the conscience of the North; it lulls the conscience of the South.

This last sentence indicates an evil on the other extreme. Ultra pro-slavery is as much to be deprecated as ultra anti-slavery. The idea that slaveholding is a divine ordinance, and that it may be lawfully perpetuated to the end of time, is a monstrous doctrine,—derogatory to the spirit and principles of Scripture, to the reason and conscience of mankind, to the universal sway of Providence, and to the glory of Christian civilization. A distinguished slaveholder of the South, who owns several hundred slaves, and

who is not a communicant in the Church, after hearing an ultra pro-slavery sermon, came out of the house of God, expressing strong disapprobation of such sentiments; and, stamping his foot on the ground, declared that he could not endure them. He added that his only justification, before God and the world, for holding slaves, was in the necessities of the case. The attempt to fortify slavery by extravagant and unreasonable positions can only do harm. Extremists on one side always beget extremists on the other. Anti-slavery at the North has been the means of developing, to an extent before unknown, ultra pro-slavery at the South. The institution is now claimed, by some, to be a divine ordinance, like marriage or civil government; African bondage is sought to be justified by the original diversities of the human race; and even the righteousness of the slave-trade itself is now openly vindicated in this land of liberty and age of light. One strong objection to your statement of the doctrine is, that it seems to give countenance to erroneous and exaggerated views. It will be accepted, I fear, by the ultra pro-slavery party, as a good enough statement to be inscribed upon their banners. I cordially acquit you of any intention to contribute to the propagation of extreme opinions. But ought not a Presbyterian minister, of your position and influence, to be arrayed against such sentiments, beyond the possibility of misconcep-

tion? Hitherto, little impression has been made on our Church by ultraists on either side. We at the North are able, with God's blessing, to maintain the scriptural ground against anti-slavery fanaticism; and we ask our brethren at the South to repel the irruptions of pro-slavery fanaticism with equal determination. In order to do this successfully, the South needs a more guarded statement of doctrine than the one you have propounded. That statement is practically inefficacious in resisting ultraism on either side.

For these various reasons, I adhere to the belief that my original proposition on the subject of slaveholding, although not, perhaps, as perfect as might be, is substantially correct, and is more scriptural and comprehensive than yours.

Yours truly,

C. Van Rensselaer.

ARTICLE II.

EMANCIPATION AND THE CHURCH.

To the Rev. George D. Armstrong, D.D.:

I certainly did not expect, when I penned the paragraph which you find fault with in your second letter, to become engaged in a controversy about "Emancipation and the Church." My standpoint was that of a private citizen, and I gave utterance to a sentiment, which, I supposed, would find a response in the bosom of any Christian slaveholder on his plantation. The idea of expounding the duty of the Church, in its official capacity, was not in my mind at all. I ask you to look at the plain terms of the paragraph:

"We regard the Christian instruction and elevation of the slaves as a means to an end, and that end is the recovery of the blessings of personal liberty, when Providence shall open the way for it. The higher end is the salvation of their souls."

This paragraph simply declares the Editor's private opinion in regard to the providential antecedents which must necessarily exist, prior to the fitness of the slaves for the blessings of personal liberty. A Christian man ought also, as I supposed, to have the end in view, as well as to keep the means in operation.

I might, perhaps, have fairly declined any formal reply to your second letter, on the ground that you transcended the real intentions of my statement. But inasmuch as the inference you have drawn from it may be a natural one, and is an opinion I really hold, and the arguments, by which you attempt to oppose it, are, in my judgment, unsatisfactory, I shall accept the opportunity of discussing what you seem to insist upon, — the subject of "EMANCIPATION AND THE CHURCH."

You begin by attempting "to strip the proposition" of what you are pleased to call its "adventitious support." I beg leave, however, to insist that its Christian drapery shall remain upon it, and that it shall retain the firm support of its own Bible truth. The blessings of personal liberty have not been considered by me, in this discussion, in any other sense than including well-being. The whole morality of slaveholding depends upon conditions of social and public welfare, as I have endeavored to show in my first letter. This is also the fundamental idea in the statement, which you desire to lay violent hands upon. My statement contains three ideas, which ought to be a sufficient guard against the impression that I was in favour of emancipation without an adequate preparation. These three ideas are, *first*, a work of Christian instruction among the slaves; *secondly*, their elevation, as a result of this instruction; and

thirdly, a progressive condition of society, which, under Providence, would render emancipation practicable and beneficial. Could anything more be expected to render my meaning plain, and to include well-being as an element in the recovery of freedom?

The expression "when Providence shall open the way for it," gives the latitude required in a question of this sort. True well-being was the precise thought in my mind; for, as you justly remark: "Providence never does open the way for any change, unless well-being is to be promoted thereby." Judge, therefore, my surprise, when I find you not only imputing to me the opposite view, but also trying to rob my proposition of the support of Divine Providence, whose glorious wisdom and power are so deeply concerned in the solution of this intricate problem. My view of the blessings of personal liberty magnifies well-being. Instead of admitting, therefore, that my statement involves a *petitio principii*, I hold that the real petition is from Dr. Armstrong to alter my proposition to suit his own views. This petition I respectfully decline. I cannot allow any one to banish God and his providence from my meditations on this subject. I choose to retain the whole paragraph, just as it was written, and more particularly the words you desire to exclude.

The terms, "when Providence shall open the way," are used in exactly the same sense as the words,

"when God in his providence shall open the door for their emancipation,"—an expression employed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, in 1815, to convey the same idea on the same subject. The question of the time of emancipation is wisely left to the counsels of the Most High. Whether it shall be long, or "before very long," depends, in no inconsiderable degree, so far as human instrumentality is involved, upon the views of those who, like yourself, occupy influential positions in the southern section of the Church. But whether the time be long or short, it will be when "Providence opens the way," or "when God in his providence shall open the door." Not until then, will emancipation be consistent with the true enjoyment of "the blessings of personal liberty." On this particular point, there does not appear to be any real difference of opinion between us.

We also agree in regard to the chief and higher end, which the Christian slaveholder should keep before him. The salvation of the souls of his slaves is the continual burden of a pious master's heart. To be instrumental in bringing to his plantation-household the knowledge of the true God and of redemption by Jesus Christ, is the primary duty and privilege of the relation. No language can exaggerate the magnitude of this responsibility; no enlightened Christian conscience can resist the power of its appeal.

The point on which we differ is, whether the Church

has any authority to contemplate emancipation as a righteous and lawful end. This, although a comparatively inferior matter, is nevertheless one of real interest and importance. And, in order that I may not be misunderstood, I request the attention of my brother, Dr. Armstrong, to a few brief explanations.

1. In the first place, an interest, on the part of the Church, in emancipation, does not imply an *undue regard for the temporal, above the spiritual welfare of the slaves.* The chief duty is to preach "Jesus Christ and Him crucified." No work on earth compares with that of religious teaching and preaching. The vast concerns of immortality should ever be uppermost in the aims and enterprises of the Church. And yet present well-being has such connections with eternal life, as to claim a just share of Christian interest in all generations. The position of the Presbyterian Church has always enabled her to preach the Gospel to both masters and slaves. Ours is not an agitating Church. Her testimony on emancipation, as I shall presently show, has been uttered firmly and fearlessly; but, unlike modern reformers, or other Churches less favored of heaven, we have not magnified slavery above the higher interests of the kingdom of God, nor substituted vain clamor and restless agitation in the place of "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

2. In the second place; to keep in view emancipa-

tion as an end, which naturally follows the use of lawful means, *does not bring the Church into the exclusive province of the State.* Slavery has both moral and political aspects. In the letter of the General Assembly to the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, in 1846, the following remarks have a place:

"The relations of negro slavery, as it exists in the States that tolerate it, are twofold. Chiefly, it is an institution purely *civil*, depending absolutely upon the will of the civil power in the States respectively in which it exists: secondarily, it has various aspects and relations, purely or mainly *moral*, in regard to which the several States permit a greater or less degree of intervention."

Our Church has always avoided interference with the State, in matters that are outside of her own appointed work. She has not claimed authority over the political relations of slavery; nor attempted to extend her domain over subjects not plainly within her own province. It is only where slavery comes within the line of ecclesiastical jurisdiction — that is to say, in its moral and religious aspects, — that our Church has maintained her right to deliver her testimony, in such forms, and at such times, as seemed best. She has "rendered unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Let no man attempt to despoil her of this joy.

3. In the third place, the Church's testimony, in

favour of emancipation, as a righteous end, must be distinguished from *legislation over the consciences of men*. Testimony differs from ecclesiastical law. It has different objects and purposes, and has a wider latitude of application. A Church judicatory may express its opinions, and attempt to exert its influence in a particular direction, within its lawful sphere, without pretending to make laws to bind the conscience. There are, indeed, duties devolving upon masters, whose violation is justly made the subject of discipline. But there are various views of slavery, which the Church, however desirous of their general adoption among her members, has presented only in the form of opinion, or testimony. Acquiescence in these views, as for example, those on emancipation, has never been made a test of Church communion. Dissenters from testimonies of this nature have no more reason to complain, than the minority in our public bodies have, in general, reason to complain of the decision of the majority on other questions, which come up lawfully for consideration.

4. Emancipation, as an end to be kept in view, *does not imply reproach, where emancipation is, for the present, impracticable*. In my first letter, I have endeavoured to show that slaveholding is not necessarily, and under all circumstances, sinful. There may be conditions of society where the continuance of the relation is among the highest demands of religious

obligation. But even in such cases, an enlightened view of duty would, in my judgment, acknowledge emancipation to be an end, worthy of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. The two ideas of the *lawfulness of the existing relation*, and of the *ultimate end of emancipation*, are perfectly consistent and harmonious. The maintenance of the latter idea conveys no reproach upon the scriptural view of slaveholding. It is antagonistic only to the unscriptural view of the permanence of slavery, as an ordinance of God, on a level with marriage or civil government.

5. The *time* of emancipation, as I have already intimated, the Church has left to the decisions of Providence. Circumstances vary so much in society, that no rule can have a universal application. It is sufficient to keep emancipation in view, and to labour to secure its attainment as speedily as circumstances will permit, or "when Providence shall open the way."

Having made these explanations in the hope of disarming prejudice, and conciliating good will, I shall proceed to show, first, that my views of "Emancipation and the Church," are sustained by the testimony of the General Assembly, whilst yours differ from it; and, secondly, that the testimony of our Church is sustained by the Word of God.

The TESTIMONY OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY on emancipation is important, as an exhibition of the general

sentiments of the Presbyterian Church on this great social question, and particularly as showing its interpretation of the Scriptures.

The first deliverance of our Church on the subject was made in the year 1787, by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, which was at that time our highest judicatory, and was in the act of forming our present ecclesiastical constitution.

The deliverance is as follows:

"The Synod of New York and Philadelphia do highly approve of the general principles in favour of universal liberty that prevail in America, and the interest which many of the States have taken in promoting the abolition of slavery; yet, inasmuch as men, introduced from a servile state, to a participation of all the privileges of civil society, without a proper education, and without previous habits of industry, may be in many respects dangerous to the community; therefore, they earnestly recommend it to all the members belonging to their communion, to give those persons who are at present held in servitude, such good education as to *prepare them for the better enjoyment of freedom;* and they moreover recommend that masters, whenever they find servants disposed to make a just improvement of the privilege, would give them *a peculium*, or grant them sufficient time and sufficient means of procuring their own liberty, at a moderate rate; that thereby they may be brought into society with those habits of industry that may render them useful citizens; and, finally, they recommend it to all their people to use the most prudent measures consistent with the interests and the state of civil society, in the countries where they live, to *procure eventually the final abolition of slavery in America.*"

In 1793, this judgment was reaffirmed by the General Assembly, and again reiterated by the Assembly

in 1795, with the remark that "*they trust every conscientious person will be fully satisfied with it.*" Its brevity, its comprehensiveness, its conservative tone, and its scriptural authority, make this testimony deserving of great attention. The General Assembly, in 1815, testified to the same effect:

"The General Assembly have repeatedly declared their cordial approbation of those principles of civil liberty, which appear to be recognized by the Federal and State Governments in these United States. They have expressed their regret that the slavery of the Africans, and of their descendants, still continues in so many places, and even among those within the pale of the Church, and have urged the Presbyteries under their care to adopt such measures as will secure, at least to the rising generation of slaves within the bounds of the Church, a religious education, that *they may be prepared for the exercise and enjoyment of liberty, when God, in his providence, may open the door for their emancipation.*"

It could hardly be expected that a deliverance could be found on the records of our Church, so exactly concurring in thought and language with the extemporaneous statement contained in my brief review.

In 1818, the largest Assembly that had yet been convened, met in Philadelphia. An abler body of divines, probably, never assembled in our highest judicatory. The paper adopted by them, on the subject of slavery, is too well known to require large extracts. It was drawn up by Dr. Ashbel Green, with

the concurrence of Dr. George A. Baxter, of your own Synod. Dr. Speece, of Virginia, was Dr. Baxter's fellow-commissioner from your old Presbytery of Lexington. I only quote a few sentences from this celebrated document:

"We rejoice that the Church to which we belong, commenced as early as any other in this country, the good work of *endeavouring to put an end to slavery*, and that in the same work, many of its members have ever since been, and now are among the most active, efficient, and vigorous labourers."

"At the same time, we earnestly exhort them to *continue, and, if possible, to increase* their exertions to effect a total abolition of slavery. We exhort them to suffer no greater delay to take place in this most interesting concern, than a regard to the public welfare truly and indispensably demands."

"We, therefore, warn all who belong to our denomination of Christians, against unduly extending this plea of necessity; against making it a cover for the love and practice of slavery, or a pretence for *not using efforts that are lawful and practicable*, to extinguish this evil.

"And we at the same time exhort others to forbear harsh censures, and uncharitable reflections on their brethren, who unhappily live among slaves, whom they cannot immediately set free, but who are *really using all of their influence and all their endeavours* to bring them into a state of freedom, *as soon as a door for it can be safely opened.*"[1]

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[1] The Assembly's testimony of 1818 was reaffirmed at the *last meeting of the Synods of Pittsburg and Ohio.* These two Synods, in the midst of which the Western Theological Seminary stands, have been denominated the "back bone of Presbyterianism." The testimony of 1818 contains some expressions which might be advantageously altered; but, with the proper explanations, it is consistent with that of 1845. The parts I have quoted have not been excepted to, so far as I know.

The General Assembly, in 1845, took action on the specific point, whether slaveholding was, under all circumstances, a bar to Christian communion; and in 1846, reaffirmed all the testimony uttered by preceding General Assemblies.

Here I might rest the case, so far as your opposition to the recorded views of our Church needed any demonstration; but as you are *now* a Virginian, I cannot avoid inviting your attention to the testimony of the Synod of Virginia, in 1800. Half a century has, indeed, passed by, and many of the precious men of God, who then served the churches from Lexington to Norfolk, have ceased from their labours; but the record of their opinions will endure throughout all generations.

This subject was brought before the Synod of Virginia by a memorial on emancipation, from one of their congregations. The following extracts are from the answer returned by the Synod to the memorial:

"That so many thousands of our fellow-creatures should, in this land of liberty and asylum for the oppressed, be held in chains, is a reflection to us painfully afflictive. And most earnestly do we wish, that all the members of our communion would pay a proper attention to the recommendation of the late Synod of New York and Philadelphia upon this subject. We consider it the indispensable duty of all who hold slaves to *prepare, by a suitable education, the young among them for a state of freedom, and to liberate them as soon as they shall appear to be duly qualified for that high privilege;* and such as neglect a duty so evidently and so powerfully enforced by the common principles

of justice, as well as by the dictates of humanity, and the benign genius of our holy religion, ought, in our opinion, to be seriously dealt with and admonished on that account. But to refuse to hold Christian communion with any who may differ from us in sentiment and practice in this instance, would, we conceive, in the present conjuncture at least, be a very unwarrantable procedure; a direct infraction of the decision of the General Assembly of our Church, and a manifest departure from the practice of the Apostles and the primitive Church."

"That it was wrong, in the first instance, to reduce so many of the helpless Africans to their present state of thraldom will be readily admitted, and that it is a duty to adopt proper measures for *their emancipation, will, it is presumed, be universally conceded*. But, with respect to the measures best calculated to accomplish that important purpose, and the time necessary to give them full effect, different sentiments may be entertained by the true disciples of the Great Friend of man."

The Synod of Virginia probably entertain the same sentiments in 1858; and, if the occasion required it, would doubtless reaffirm this testimony, with the same love to Christ that originated it in the days of Waddell, Legrand, Rice, Alexander, Lacy, Hoge, Lyle, Brown, Baxter, Houston, etc.,—a generation of revered men, "mighty in the Scriptures."

It is clear that my statement concerning "Emancipation and the Church" is no novelty, but that it is regular, orthodox, old-fashioned, Presbyterian truth.

Secondly. I further maintain, that this truth is scriptural truth; and, that the Church has a right to propose, and to hold forth, emancipation as a righteous end, when Providence shall open the way.

Here I am met, at once, by your declaration, that

"The word of God contains no deliverance, express or clearly implied, respecting emancipation. Hence, I affirm, that the Church has no right to make a deliverance respecting it; much less to set it before herself as an end of her labours."

In examining this proposition, I venture to lay down the following, as a counter proposition in part, and as a more scriptural view of the subject; viz.: The Church has a right to expound, and to apply, the word of God, in reference to all the relations of life, and to all the changing aspects of society. The exposition and application must, of course, be consistent with the spirit and principles of the Bible, but they are not limited to the mere word of its letter, nor to any general or universal formula of expression. From the nature of the case, exposition requires enlargement of scriptural statement, and application implies a regard to providential developments and to the varying circumstances of social and public life. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians was very different from his Epistles to the Romans and to the Hebrews, although they all contained expositions of the same scriptural doctrines; and his Epistle to Philemon contained a new application, in the case of Onesimus, of principles, not previously so fully developed. The Church has, in every age, the right to expound the sacred Scriptures according to the light granted by the Holy

Spirit, and to apply its interpretation to all cases, judged to be within its spiritual jurisdiction.

I. Let us, in this search after Bible truth, glance at some of the views of the *Old Testament Scriptures*, on slavery and emancipation.

A terrific statute flashed out from Sinai into the legislation of the Hebrew commonwealth. By the laws of Moses, "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hands, he shall surely be put to death." (Ex. 21 : 16.) The original man-stealer, and the receiver of the stolen person, were both to suffer the penalty of death. The operation of this single statute would have forever excluded the existence of American slavery.

Another provision, of some significance, shone with benignant beams of liberty. A fugitive slave, from a foreign country, was not to be sent back into slavery. (Deut. 23 : 15, 16.) The Hebrew commonwealth was a city of refuge and an asylum of liberty to the surrounding nations. These two statutes stood, like Jachin and Boaz, at the vestibule of the Mosaic legislation on slavery.

Hebrew bondmen were held under a system, which resembled, in its nature, hired service rather than slavery, and whose duration was limited. Hebrew servants were emancipated on the seventh year, except in cases of voluntary agreement, and of children born

under certain circumstances. In the year of Jubilee, liberty was proclaimed "unto all the inhabitants of the land." (Lev. 25 : 10.) In the fiftieth year, every Hebrew "returned unto his family," under the protection of a great festival statute.

The Old Testament dispensation made distinctions between the Israelites and Gentiles, in various parts of its legislation, and, among others, on slavery. Bondmen, purchased by the Hebrews from the Gentiles, might be held in perpetuity. Their bondage, however, as Dr. Spring remarks, partook of the character of apprenticeship, rather than of rigorous servitude.

The great fact remains prominent, that the bondage of the *Hebrews* was temporary. Emancipation was continually in sight; and the effect of their septennial and jubilee emancipation periods must have been a moral check and rebuke to slavery, under whatever forms it was tolerated.

The long-existing middle wall of partition between Jews and Gentiles, was at length overthrown by Christianity. Thenceforward, all mankind stood in the new relation of a common brotherhood. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." (Gal. 3 : 28, 29.) Timothy, who, from a

child, had known the Holy Scriptures, must have realized, with all pious Jews, that the spirit of the Old Testament no longer sanctioned the holding of even *Gentile* brethren, in *perpetual* bondage. All laws, peculiar to the Jewish economy, being now abolished, the New Testament, in its larger spirit and greater light, was brought into contact with the arbitrary slavery of the Pagan nations. Can it be believed that, under these circumstances, any well-instructed Jewish Christians would become voluntarily involved in the pagan system of slavery? Heathen slaveholders, on their becoming Christians, received instructions which gave new views of their obligations, and which tended to the ultimate abolition of the system.

II. Christianity, in reforming the evils of society, inculcated general principles, of far greater influence than positive Mosaic laws. Before examining the true tendency of some of these scriptural principles, I shall ask your attention to the doctrine, which Paul expounded to the Corinthian slaves. "Art thou called, being a servant, or slave, care not for it. *But if thou mayst be made free*, USE IT RATHER." (1 Cor. 7 : 21.)

The ideas that are fairly implied in this verse are the following:

1. Religion is the most precious of all blessings to mankind. The Lord's freeman may bear, with little

anxiety, any external condition of life, even though it be that of bondage. Well may Presbyterians rejoice that their Church, in conformity to apostolic precept and practice, has preached the Gospel to the slaves, without unduly agitating points bearing on their temporal welfare.

2. Slavery is an abnormal, and not a permanent, condition. Paul exhorted Christian slaves to seek emancipation, if within their reach, or if Providence opened the way for it. It is impossible to reconcile this inspired passage with the theory that slavery, like civil government or marriage, is an ordinance of God, to be perpetuated forever. "Use your freedom, rather," says Paul, expounding the nature of slavery, and throwing the light of inspiration upon its anomalous character. When did the Apostle ever exhort husbands and wives not to care for the marriage tie, and to seek to be free from it, if the opportunity offered? Slavery was in its nature a temporary expedient, differing from marriage, which is founded upon the natural and permanent relations of life. Slavery is limited in its duration by the very conditions of its lawful existence.

3. The Apostle teaches the Corinthian slaves that liberty is a higher and better condition than bondage. Although Christian slaves ought to be submissive to their lot, they have a right to regard liberty as a greater blessing. CALVIN, our great commentator,

says: "Paul means to intimate that liberty is not merely good, but also *more advantageous than servitude*. If he is speaking to servants, his meaning will be this: While I exhort you to be free from anxiety, I do not hinder you from even availing yourselves of liberty, if a [lawful] opportunity presents itself to you. If he is addressing himself to those who are free, it will be a kind of concession, as though he had said,—I exhort servants to be of good courage, though a state of freedom is preferable,[1] and more to be desired, if one has it in his choice." The Apostle evidently considered liberty to be the highest state, offering an advance in civilization and true well-being, when Providence opens the way.

4. Paul also maintains that emancipation is an object of Christian desire, when it can be lawfully secured. Our own great commentator, Dr. HODGE, says: "Paul's object is not to exhort men not to improve their condition, but simply not to allow their social relations to disturb them; or imagine that their becoming Christians rendered it necessary to change those relations. He could, with perfect consistency with the context, say to the slave: 'Let not your being a slave give you any concern; but if you can become free, choose freedom rather than slavery.' Luther, Calvin, Beza, and the great body of commen-

[1] "Soit *beaucoup* meilleur" — "is *much* better."

tators, from their day to this, understood the Apostle to say that liberty was to be chosen, if the opportunity to become free were offered."

Now, if the great Apostle to the Gentiles taught that slavery is an inferior condition, and that, under right circumstances, emancipation is a lawful object of Christian desire, may not the Church teach the same things? Whilst the highest and chief end is to lead the slaves to Christ and to heaven, is the Church compelled to abjure all other ends, relating to human happiness, elevation, and liberty? Far from it. Paul's doctrine to Timothy, upon which you lay so much stress, must not be expounded to the exclusion of Paul's doctrine to the Corinthians.

Christian masters are informed, in this passage, that their slaves may rightly regard their bondage as an inferior state, which may be superseded in due time; and the masters themselves are thus, incidentally, instructed to keep emancipation in view, and to prepare the slaves for it, when the providential opportunity arrives.

Further. If emancipation be a good which slaves may lawfully desire, it is a good which *all Christians* may lawfully desire, and labour, according to their opportunity, to *confer upon them*. It is not, indeed, in such a sense an absolute good that it may not be abused, or that every class of people is always prepared safely to possess it. The same is true of the

self-control which the law confers upon children, on reaching their majority. But is this any reason why children should not desire to be their own masters at a suitable age, or why all should not desire and labour so to train them that they may be duly prepared, at the fit time, to be invested with self-control?

You refer me to the explanations of your book on this passage in the Epistle to the Corinthians. The explanations I find to be twofold: First, you urge that slavery in Greece and Rome was far more rigorous than in our Southern States; and secondly, that the Africans and Anglo-Saxons belong to different races; and that, on these two accounts, the doctrine of Paul has a less forcible application to American than to Corinthian slaves. I cheerfully yield to your argument any benefit which may be fairly claimed by a change of circumstances; but I submit, in reply, *first*, that human nature is the same in all ages and nations, and has natural desires to embrace every lawful opportunity to improve its outward condition; *secondly*, that the Apostle propounds a principle, which has a real bearing upon slavery at all times and everywhere; *thirdly*, that the light, liberty, and Christian appliances of the nineteenth century, are an offset against the supposed advantages for emancipation possessed by ancient Greece and Rome; and *fourthly*, that your apology for not fully applying the principle to slavery now, as well as to slavery eighteen

hundred years ago, is at least a virtual acquiescence, however feeble, in the truth of Paul's doctrine. I find, indeed, on recurring to your book, that Dr. Armstrong expounds the passage admirably. You say: "Yet, if they can lawfully be made free, *as a general rule*, slaves had better accept their freedom; for a condition of slavery is not to be desired on its own account." p. 67. This is substantially the "Christian doctrine" I am advocating; but how a Christian minister can reconcile this scriptural view of the subject with the silent and unchallenged expression of all sorts of opinions about the perpetuity, desirableness, etc., of slavery, I leave others to determine. Slavery was no less a political institution in the days of Paul than it is now. Is the Church, therefore, to be perpetually silent, as though slavery possessed no moral relations to the law of God? Is it exclusively a question of "capital and labour?" Surely, the Church may follow Paul in his inspired expositions, although his Epistles contain some things "hard to be understood," and easy to "wrest."

III. Paul's incidental interpretation of the law of liberty to the Corinthian slaves, is in entire accordance with the *injunctions of Scripture*. Slaveholding is not in itself sinful, but its existence binds upon masters and slaves mutual obligations, whose tendency is to abolish, eventually, the entire system. If the

Scriptures enjoin what, of necessity, leads to emancipation, they enjoin emancipation itself, when the time comes; if they forbid what is necessary to the perpetuity of slavery, they forbid that slavery should be perpetuated.

How, then, do these divine injunctions to masters and slaves operate against the perpetuity of slavery?

1. Christianity requires the *kind personal treatment* of the slaves; it removes the rigours of bondage, and insensibly assimilates the system to one of apprenticeship. Religious obligation is made the basis of all the duties of the relation. There is a "Master in Heaven," who rules over all; who searches the hearts of all; who weighs the actions of all; and who keeps a record for the final judgment. "The Bible method," says Dr. Hodge, "of dealing with slavery and similar institutions, is to enforce, on all concerned, the *great principles of moral obligation* — assured that those principles, if allowed free scope, will put an end to all the evils both in the political and social relations of men." "First, the evils of slavery, and then slavery itself, would pass away as naturally and as healthfully as children cease to be minors." The kind treatment which the Gospel requires towards slaves, and the corresponding obligations of slaves to their masters, cultivate feelings of mutual regard, which open the way for everything good in due time.

2. The effect of Christianity upon the sanctity of

the marriage state, is of the same preparatory nature. The law of Eden regulates social life everywhere; it protects husbands and wives on the plantation, in their relations to each other and their children. The husband is "the head of the wife, as Christ is the head of the Church." "As the Church is subject to Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything." Forcible disruptions of the marriage bond by sale, or by separation for life, are not authorized by the word of God. The Christian law of marriage holds inviolate the sacred privacies of home; and the very difficulties of fulfilling the obligations of this law in a state of bondage, are suggestions in behalf of the natural state of liberty.

3. The Gospel demands an *adequate compensation of service*. "The labourer is worthy of his hire," whether he be a minister of the sanctuary or a plantation slave. He is entitled to food, raiment, and shelter, and to whatever additional remuneration and privilege justice demands, in view of all the circumstances in each case. This doctrine of equitable compensation gradually unsettles the arbitrary or despotic nature of the relation, and provides a natural progress towards the coming end.

4. Religion protects the *avails of human industry;* it favours the right of every man to the fruits of his labour. The laws of the State deny, in general, the right of slaves to any property; but the Bible enjoins

that which is "just and equal." In practice, Christian masters generally acknowledge, in a greater or less degree, the justice of this claim. Such a practice is a scriptural auxiliary to final emancipation.—Ideas of property enlarge the mind, cherish thoughts of independence, cultivate habits of industry, and possess a stimulating power upon the general character of the slave, which fits him for the exercise of all the rights of liberty, "when Providence shall open the way."

5. The *intellectual and moral elevation* of the slaves is a necessary result of Christian treatment and instruction. The Bible is the universal text-book for mankind. Religious knowledge introduces all other knowledge. Any system that depends for its support upon the ignorance and debasement of the people, is doomed, by the law of Providence, to extinction. It was the wish of a pious king that every man in his dominions might be able to read the Bible. A Christian slaveholder, in like manner, realizes the obligations to give instruction to the slaves in his household. Religion tends to knowledge and virtue; and knowledge and virtue tend to liberty.

If these statements are correct, obedience to the special injunctions of the Bible, on the subject of slavery, tends to, and necessarily terminates in, Emancipation. The Church, therefore, may scripturally

keep in view this great moral result, to the glory of her heavenly King.

IV. I add, that the *universal spirit and fundamental principles of religion* originate, and foster, sentiments favourable to the natural rights of mankind. Born of the same race, inheritors of the same corrupt nature, heirs of the same Divine promises, partakers of the same redemption in Jesus Christ, subjects of the same resurrection from the dead, and, if saved, inhabitants of the same mansions of glory and immortality, the children of bondage are elevated by the Bible to a condition of co-equal spiritual dignity, that asserts, and must ultimately obtain, the full recognition of all their rights.

Love to God and love to man, is the substance of the Divine requirements. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;" "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so unto them." I am aware of the fanatical and unscriptural interpretations that have been sometimes put upon the great law of Christian reciprocity. I disclaim fellowship with unreasonable and false dogmas. But I think that the fair, scriptural interpretation of the rule of love bears irresistibly against the *perpetuity of slavery*, as well as against its rash or precipitate overthrow. Christianity seeks to adjust the condition of society, on a basis of universal

brotherhood; fitted to accomplish the sublime purposes of "peace on earth, and good-will towards men."

In all periods of her history, the Church has identified herself with the well-being of the masses.—Without interfering with political relations, she has never renounced her interest in the highest welfare of the human race, both in this life and the life to come. At the present day, the Presbyterian Church, in preaching the Gospel to the heathen, expends a part of her resources in sending physicians to heal their diseases, farmers to assist in agricultural management, mechanics to work at printing presses, teachers to instruct in schools. The principle actuating this general policy is, that the temporal well-being of mankind is, within certain limits, directly auxiliary to the preaching of the Gospel and the salvation of souls. So far as slavery is a question of "capital and labour," or so far as emancipation depends upon the laws of the State, ecclesiastical authority is impertinent; but the moral results to be secured by the elevation and emancipation of the slaves, are within the true aim of the law of love and of Gospel grace.

Can it be "extra-scriptural, unscriptural, and anti-scriptural," for the Church, besides seeking the eternal salvation of the slaves, to endeavour to introduce them to the blessings of personal liberty, "when

Providence shall open the way?" Certainly, nothing less than this result is to be desired, when Providence shall so arrange and prepare things, that the welfare of society and the claims of justice and mercy shall require the termination of involuntary servitude.—This supposes a great advance in the intellectual. moral, and religious condition of the slaves. Is it sinful to desire, and pray, and labour for such a state of things? If so, I confess myself ignorant of the first principles of the doctrine of Christ.

In bringing this long letter to a close, I must ask your attention to one or two things more.

If the Scriptures do not contain any deliverance on this subject, either "express or clearly implied," then the Christian, as a *citizen*, has no divine rule to guide his conduct. Emancipation, if it comes at all, comes not as a desired end, but as a mere incident. The whole question, with its moralities and economics, is left to the operation of natural laws. If not a scriptural end, it may, or may not, be reckoned within the range of private and public prayer, and of earnest Christian enterprise and activity. If "extra-scriptural, unscriptural, and anti-scriptural," might not some infer that it was *sinful?* The motives that lead men to glorify God in labouring to remove social evils, are thus impaired in their force, if not rendered inoperative in this particular sphere. The effect of

such doctrine in perpetuating slavery, cannot be concealed or denied.

If I understand you, emancipation in *Liberia* is acknowledged to be a proper object of ecclesiastical action, for the reason, among others, that it passes by the question of "the general ultimate emancipation of the slaves" in *this country*. But is not the principle the same, wherever the result may be finally secured? My statement leaves the time, place, and circumstances of emancipation to the Providence of God; whilst your view seems to admit the lawfulness of the end, provided that you yourself locate and define the land of liberty. Is not this a virtual surrender of the principle contained in your argument? In your general sentiments on Liberian Colonization. I cordially concur.

One of the most painful things, allow me to say fraternally, in your Letter, is the low view of the natural rights of mankind, which pervades the discussion. I fully acknowledge the difficulties of emancipation, and most truly sympathize with my brethren, in Church and State, who are involved in the evils of this complicated system. But if we lose sight of, or depreciate principles, difficulties and dangers will increase on every side. Are there no eternal principles of justice, no standard of human rights, by which a system of servitude shall submit to be judged, and in whose presence it shall be made to plead for

justification? Is civil liberty a mere abstraction? Thanks be to God, the Presbyterian Church has been the advocate of freedom in every land and age. Long may she maintain this position of truth and righteousness, in the spirit of good-will to all men, bond and free; and whilst she holds that slavery is not necessarily and in all circumstances sinful, may her testimony against the evils of the system, and in favour of emancipation, be clear, consistent, and unwavering, before God and the world!

Presbyterians at the North have remained steadfast in their integrity, amidst all the abolition agitation which has threatened injury, and even destruction, to the Church. We have deprecated this agitation, not simply on account of its own perverse nature, but on account of its evil influence in provoking extreme views among our brethren at the South. The northern section of the Church, by its successful resistance to fanaticism, earnestly and fraternally appeals to the Presbyterians at the South, to remain equally true to the principles and the testimonies sanctioned by the unanimous voice of our General Assemblies, and by the higher authority of the Sacred Scriptures.

I am yours, truly,

C. Van Rensselaer.

ARTICLE III.

ON THE HISTORICAL ARGUMENT FOR SLAVERY.

To the Rev. George D. Armstrong, D.D.:

History teaches important lessons; but I have several objections to the historical view presented in your letter as the basis of instruction.

1. One of the forms of historical statement, liable to misconception, is that the Apostles maintained without qualification, that "*slaveholding is not a sin.*" This mode of stating the doctrine is not, in my opinion, precisely scriptural. It leaves the impression that slavery is, always and everywhere, a lawful institution. All that the Scriptures authorize us to affirm, as I have endeavored to show in my first letter, is that slaveholding is not a *malum in se*, or in other words, that it is right or wrong, according to circumstances. As this point lies at the basis of your historical sketch, I have deemed it important to notice it at the very beginning.

2. In the second place, the assertion that "*slavery continued to exist everywhere*," is no evidence that Christianity everywhere approved of it. Despotism and war prevailed in early times; and although they still continue to exist throughout the world, the spirit

of true religion has always been in opposition to their perpetuity. The simple fact of the long continuance of such an institution as slavery cannot be interpreted into a divine warrant.

3. In the third place, your historical statement entirely overlooks the *early influence of Christianity upon slavery.*

The religion of Christ was, for a long period, subjected to fierce persecutions, and rejected from the councils of the Roman Empire. When it finally secured a temporary triumph under Constantine, corruption almost simultaneously began its work. There are, nevertheless, many evidences of an advancing social and political movement, in the mitigation of the evils of slavery, and in the measures of emancipation. From the first, "the humane spirit of our religion struggled with the customs and manners of this world, and contributed, more than any other circumstance, to introduce the practice of manumission."[1] Christianity ameliorated the condition of slaves under the Roman Government, inclined Constantine to render their emancipation much easier than formerly, and awakened a religious interest in the subject. "As slaves were formerly declared to be emancipated in the temple of the goddess Feronia, so afterwards, in accordance with the decrees of Constantine, they were throughout the Roman Empire,

[1] Robertson.

set free in the churches."[1] SOZOMEN, speaking of Constantine, says: "In reference to the bestowment of the better liberty (viz., Roman citizenship), he laid down these laws, decreeing that *all, emancipated in the Church under the direction of the priests,* should enjoy Roman citizenship."[2] The Church sometimes paid for the ransom of slaves, especially for slaves or captives subjected to heathen or barbarian masters. "Out of the legitimate work of the faithful," says the Apostolic Constitutions, "deliver the saints, redeem the slaves, the captives,"[3] etc. Ignatius alludes likewise to the slaves redeemed at the expense of the community.[4] Clement of Rome also speaks of Christians who carried devotion so far as to sell themselves to redeem others from slavery.[5]

Large numbers of slaves were emancipated in the first ages of Christianity. One of our own distinguished writers, whose position, intellectual habits, and course of investigation have enabled him to give much attention to this subject, has the following remarks:

"Before the advent of Christianity, no axe had ever been laid at the root of slavery; no philosopher had denounced it, and it does not appear to have been considered by any as an evil to be repressed. Nor did the apostles teach differently, but distinctly laid down rules for the conduct of master and slave; thereby

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[1] Can. 64, Cod. Eccl. Africanæ.

[2] Sozomenus, lib. 1; Hist. Eccl. Chap. ix. [3] IV. 9.

[4] Ep. ad Polyc. c. 4. [5] 1 Ep. ad Cor.

clearly recognizing the relation, without denouncing it as in itself sinful. Their Master's instructions were intended to make men what they should be, and then every institution, every law, and every practice inconsistent with that state, would fall before it. If a community of slaveholders, under Christian instruction, were gradually tending to the point of general emancipation, both masters and slaves would gradually be fitting for so great a change in their relative condition. It would be a subject of great interest to trace, in the early ages of Christianity, its influences upon the institution of slavery, so much in contrast with the movements or influences of paganism. During the first four or five centuries of the Christian era, *emancipation of slaves by converts to Christianity took place upon a large and progressively increasing scale*, and continued until the occurrence of political events, the invasion of barbarians, and other causes, agitated the whole Christian world, and shook the very foundations of the social systems in which Christianity had made most progress. When Christianity sank into the darkness of the middle ages, the progress of emancipation ceased, because the influence which produced it ceased during that period to operate. The annals of emancipation in these primitive ages, if materials were extant for a full narrative, would be of extraordinary interest, and would fully reveal the effects of our Saviour's precepts when brought to bear upon the hearts of men in their true spirit, even where the letter did not apply. Under paganism, slavery could never come to an end: under the continual light of Christianity, it hastens to an inevitable end, but by that progress and in that mode which is best both for master and slave; both being bound to love each other, until the door of emancipation is fully open without injury to either."[1]

In addition to these interesting statements from Mr. Colwell, I offer to your consideration the following extracts from the admirable work of the Rev.

[1] New Themes for the Protestant Clergy, by STEPHEN COLWELL, Esq.

Stephen Chastel, of Geneva, on the "Charity of the Primitive Churches."[1]

"Between the Christian master and slave was no religious distinction; they came into the same sanctuary to invoke the same God, to pray, to sing together, to participate in the same mysteries, to sit at the same table, to drink of the same cup, and to take part in the same feast. How should this community of worship not have profoundly modified their mutual relations? How could the master have continued to see in his slave that *thing* which the Roman law permitted him to *use* and to *abuse*? Also, whatever might still be the force of habit and of manners, there were rarely seen in the Christian houses those masters, still less those pitiless mistresses, such as Seneca and Juvenal have painted to us; the slave, there, had to fear neither the cross, nor tortures, nor abandonment in sickness, nor to be thrown off in his old age; he had not to fear that he should be sold for the amphitheatre, or for some one of those infamous occupations which the Church reproved, and from which she struggled, at every price, to rescue her children.

"Finally, a devoted and faithful slave always had, in a Christian house, the hope of recovering his liberty. It was not rare, without doubt, to see Pagans enfranchise their slaves; some even did it from motives of gratitude or attachment; but ordinarily necessity, caprice, vanity, often even the most sordid calculations alone presided over the emancipation of slaves, and these miserable creatures, cast almost without resource into the midst of a society whose free labour found so little encouragement and employment, hardly used their liberty except to do evil, and went for the most part to increase the crowd of proletarians and of beggars, so that it is not astonishing if the emperors had attempted, though without success, to limit, by their laws, the right of enfranchising. As to the Church, when she encouraged it, it was not as an interest, but as a favour; she exhorted the mas-

[1] Translated by Professor Matile, and published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1857.

ters to liberate the slave as often as he was in a state to support himself. But the enfranchisement was not an abandonment; the Christian remained the *patron*, in the best sense of that word, of those whom he had ceased to be the master of, and, in case of misfortune, the freed man found an almost sure resource in the aid of his brothers. The Church, which, by its moral influence, had worked to render him worthy of liberty, continued to protect him after he had attained it. The emancipation of slaves, at this day, would be less difficult and less dangerous if it was always done in this spirit."[1]

The "correctness" of these brief accounts of the early impression of Christianity upon slavery, "no one, I presume, will call in question;" and they stand in delightful contrast with the injurious and unhistorical representations, quoted in your Letter from Dr. Hopkins, Bishop of the Episcopal Church of Vermont.

4. I take exception to the statement that slaves

[1] The Church has been thus unjustly accused of having, by the imprudence of her emancipations of slaves, caused the plague of pauperism. Manumission had been used with much less discretion at other epochs of Roman society. The one hundred thousand freedmen who, as early as from 240 to 210 previous to our era, had been admitted to the privilege of citizenship, the slaves liberated *en masse* by the alternating politics of Marius and Sylla, the thousands of them who under the republic were daily liberated, either by will, to do honour to the funeral of their master, or by necessity, there being no food for them, or by revenge, to defeat the eagerness of creditors; all those freedmen, finally, who in Cicero's times were in a majority in the urban and rural tribes of Rome, formed elements much more threatening to the social well-being than were subsequently those freed by charity. (Moreau-Christophe, *Du probl. de la misère*, vol. i., p. 80, etc.)

were always "*held, without any reproach, even by the bishops and clergy,*" down to the period of the abolition of slavery in Europe. Undoubtedly, slaves might have been held, without any reproach, then as now, when the circumstances of society and the welfare of the slaves justified the continuance of the relation. The fact that, under Constantine, emancipation took place in the churches, shows that the act was regarded as peculiarly congenial with the spirit and principles of religion. Ward, in his Law of Nations, observes that "it is of little consequence to object that the custom of slavery remained for a great length of time, or that the Church itself was possessed of numbers of slaves. The custom of enfranchisement was the effect, chiefly, of pious and Christian motives, and the *example was generally set by the ministers of religion.*"

The same writer observes, in reference to later times, that, "in the opinion of Grotius, Christianity was the great and almost only cause of abolition. The professed and assigned reasons for most of the charters of manumissions, from the time of Gregory the Great [A. D. 600] to the thirteenth century, were the religious and pious considerations of the fraternity of men, the imitation of the example of Christ, the love of our Maker, and the hope of redemption. Enfranchisement was frequently given on a deathbed, as the most acceptable service that could be offered;

and when the sacred character of the priesthood came to obtain more universal veneration, *to assume its functions was the immediate passport to freedom.*"

History does not at all warrant the assertion that slaves have been always held "without any reproach." From the earliest period, the anomalous character of the relation, and its attending evils, have been recorded on the impartial, but obscure annals of the past. Not even in the dark middle ages was slavery ranked among irreproachable and permanent institutions.

5. Another error in your historical sketch is, that, when the practice of slavery "died out" in Europe, the change was "*through the operation of worldly causes.*" It is surprising that two bishops of the Church should agree upon a statement, disowning the connection between Christianity and the removal of this great social evil. The changes introduced into society, in the progress of advancing civilization, have been hitherto ascribed by all Christian writers to the power of Christianity itself. But in the nineteenth century, the theory is advanced, that "worldly causes," and not religion, have been the efficient agents in the extinction of slavery! If this be true in all previous ages, the inference is that it will be so in all time to come. This is a "short and easy method" of establishing ultra pro-slavery doctrine. But is the statement true? In addition to the testimony already

adduced, which has a bearing upon this point, I venture to ask your attention to the following remarks, contained in the volumes of Mr. Bancroft, the historian. You will observe the prominence given to *religion*, by this distinguished writer.

"In defiance of severe penalties, the Saxons sold their own kindred into slavery on the continent; nor could the traffic be checked, till *religion*, pleading the cause of humanity, made its appeal to *conscience*."[1]

"What though the trade was exposed to the *censure of the Church*, and prohibited by the laws of Venice? It could not be effectually checked, till, by the Venetian law, no slave might enter a Venetian ship, and to tread the deck of an argosy of Venice, became the privilege and the evidence of freedom."

"The spirit of the *Christian religion* would, before the discovery of America, have led to the entire abolition of the slave trade, but for the hostility between the Christian Church and the followers of Mahomet. In the twelfth century, Pope Alexander III., true to the spirit of his office, which, during the supremacy of brute force in the middle ages, made of the chief minister of religion, the tribune of the people and the guardian of the oppressed, had written, that '*Nature having made no slaves, all men have an equal right to liberty.*'"[2]

"The amelioration of the customs of Europe had proceeded from the influence of *religion*. It was the *clergy* who had broken up the Christian slave-markets at Bristol and at Hamburg, at Lyons and at Rome. At the epoch of the discovery of America, the moral opinion of the civilized world had abolished the traffic of Christian slaves; and was fast demanding the *emancipation of the serfs;* but bigotry had favored a compromise with avarice; and the infidel was not yet included within the pale of humanity."[3]

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[1] History of the United States, i. 162.

[2] Ibid., 163.

[3] Ibid., 165.

"The slave-trade between Africa and America was, I believe, never expressly sanctioned by the See of Rome. The spirit of the Roman Church was against it. Even Leo X., though his voluptuous life, making of his pontificate a continued carnival, might have deadened the sentiments of humanity and justice, declared, that '*not the Christian religion only, but nature herself, cries out against the state of slavery.*'"[1]

These few extracts are sufficient, I think, to prove that something more than "worldly causes" have contributed to remove slavery from European civilization. As long as Christianity exists upon the earth, and the consciences of its disciples are enlightened by the Spirit, a power will always be at work, higher than "worldly causes," tending to universal emancipation. Even these "worldly causes," to which allusion is made, are more or less controlled by the truth and influences of the Gospel.

6. I turn to another error, viz.: "It was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that *a doubt* was expressed, on *either side of the Atlantic*, in relation to the perfect consistency of slavery with the precepts of the Gospel."

If I mistake not, the evidence, already adduced, will occasion very serious doubts in regard to the truth of the proposition, so far as it relates to the other side of the Atlantic. Let us, for the present, consider whether, on this side of the Atlantic, slavery

[1] History of the United States, i., 172.

and the Gospel were, always and everywhere, reckoned to be natural allies.

The Puritans did, it is true, consider themselves justified by the Old Testament in retaining Indian captives as bondsmen, according to the policy of the Israelites towards the Pagan nations. The Indian prisoners were few in number, and their case was a perplexing one. We do not justify Puritan reasoning on this subject; it was the reasoning of the day, both in Europe and in other parts of our own country. At that period, even white men were sold into slavery in Virginia. In the midst of such moral obtuseness, there were not wanting some signs of more correct views of human bondage, in New England. The following extracts are from Mr. Bancroft's history. The first paragraph relates to the sailing of the first vessel, owned in part by a member of the Church of Boston, to engage in the slave-trade:

"Throughout Massachusetts, the cry of justice was raised against the owners as malefactors and murderers. Richard Saltonstall felt himself moved by his duty as a magistrate, to denounce the act of stealing negroes as 'expressly contrary to the law of God and the law of the country;' the guilty men were committed for the offence; and, after advice with the elders, the representatives of the people, bearing 'witness against the heinous crimes of manstealing,' ordered *the negroes to be restored, at the public charge, 'to their own country,* with a letter expressing the indignation of the General Court' at their wrongs."[1] [This was in the year 1646.]

[1] Bancroft's History, i., 174.

"When George Fox visited Barbadoes, in 1671, he enjoined it upon the planters, that they should 'deal mildly and gently with their negroes; and that after certain years of servitude, *they should make them free.*' The idea of George Fox had been anticipated by the fellow-citizens of Gorton and Roger Williams. Nearly twenty years had then elapsed since the representatives of Providence and Warwick, perceiving the disposition of people in the colony 'to buy negroes,' and hold them 'as slaves forever,' had enacted that no '*black mankind,*' *should,* '*by covenant, bond, or otherwise,*' *be held to perpetual service;* the master, 'at the end of ten years, shall set them free, as the manner is with English servants; and that man that will not let' his slave 'go free, or shall sell him away, to the end that he may be enslaved to others for a longer time, shall forfeit to the colony forty pounds. Now, forty pounds was nearly twice the value of a negro slave. The law was not enforced; but the principle lived among the people.'"[1]

"The thought of *general emancipation* early presented itself. Massachusetts, where the first planters assumed to themselves 'a right to treat the Indians on the foot of Canaanites and Amalekites,' was always opposed to the introduction of slaves from abroad; and in 1701, the town of Boston instructed its representatives, '*to put a period to negroes being slaves.*'"[2]

It thus appears that, up to the beginning of the last century, there was a great deal of "doubt" in New England, in regard to "the perfect consistency of slavery with the precepts of the Gospel." Public opinion, however, seems to have afterwards relapsed into much indifference, until near the period of the Revolution, when Dr. Hopkins, of Newport, published a pamphlet on the "Slavery of the Africans, showing it to be the duty of the American Colonies to eman-

[1] Bancroft's History, i., 174.

[2] Ibid., iii. 408.

cipate all the African slaves."[1] Dr. Hopkins apologizes for the want of conscience exhibited in New England by the "ignorance" of the owners of slaves; and "although this has been a very criminal ignorance, yet professors of religion, and real Christians, may have lived in this sin through an ignorance consistent with sincerity, and so as to be acceptable to God, through Jesus Christ, in their devotions," etc. Public attention now became much directed to slavery, both at the North and at the South.

The southern colonies had repeatedly remonstrated against the slave-trade. Judge Tucker, in his Notes on Blackstone, has collected a list of no less than twenty-three acts, passed by Virginia, having in view the repression of the importation of slaves. The motives were various, political as well as moral. In 1772, Virginia sent a petition to the throne, declaring, among other things, that "the importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa, hath *long* been considered a trade of *great inhumanity*."

7. A very serious error in your letter, consists in attributing to *Infidelity* the awakened interest in Great Britain and the United States, in the suppression of the slave-trade and the abolition of slavery.

As if "worldly causes" were not low enough to account for the extinction of domestic servitude, Infi-

[1] Published in 1776.

delity is summoned from the depths, as another ruling agent. This part of the solution of the question is your own, to which the instructions of Bishop Hopkins, allow me to say, naturally tended.

I ask your attention to the fact, that the period in which the greatest masters of Infidelity were prominent actors, was the very period in which the slave-trade was carried on with the greatest energy, and the conscience of the whole world slumbered most profoundly over emancipation. From the year 1700, till the American Revolution, more negroes had been exported from Africa than ever before. During this interval, lived Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, Hume, Voltaire, Rousseau, and the French Encyclopædists, great and small. Mr. Bancroft remarks, with his usual historical accuracy: "The philosophy of that day furnished to the African no protection against oppression." England, under the ministry of Bolingbroke, and his successors in office, openly advocated the slave-trade. It was a time of infidelity, of Arian and Deistical encroachment, and of ecclesiastical domination. It was a fit time for the climax of the slave-trade.

> "Loud and perpetual o'er the Atlantic waves,
> For guilty ages, rolled the tide of slaves;
> A tide that knew no fall, no turn, no rest —
> Constant as day and night, from East to West,
> Still wid'ning, deep'ning, swelling in its course,
> With boundless ruin and resistless force."

This state of active kidnapping in Africa, received its first check, not from Infidelity, but from the religion and patriotism of the confederated Colonies of North America. The delegates in Congress, without being specially empowered to do so, passed and promulgated, on the 6th of April, 1776, several months before the Declaration of Independence, a resolution, that no slaves should be imported into the Confederation. Thus did Christianity and Liberty triumph over wickedness and crime.

The Northern States soon began to legislate in favour of emancipation. Under the impulses of a quickened sense of religious obligation, and of political consistency, slavery was undermined at the North. Much feeling also existed against the institution at the South, especially in Virginia, where the introduction of an Emancipation Act into the Legislature was seriously contemplated, after the slave-trade was prohibited. It was *never* understood that Infidelity, as such, had any agency in these philanthropic measures throughout the country. Where religion failed to be prominent, patriotism supplied the motives of benevolent action. All the public documents of the day testify to the truth of this view of the subject.

The philanthropists of England, moved by equally pure and disinterested motives, aimed at the abolition of the slave-trade, simultaneously with their

brethren in America. Granville Sharp, Wilberforce, Newton, Thornton, Scott, Macaulay, and their noble coadjutors, were among the foremost of the religious men of their age. Seldom, indeed, has Christianity claimed a higher triumph in the history of civilization, than when acts were passed for the abolition of the African slave-trade, and public measures were inaugurated for the abolition of slavery in America, and elsewhere. The religious world will be surprised to learn from Dr. Armstrong that Infidelity was the chief agent, whose culminating point was West Indian emancipation, under the auspices of England! Call West Indian Emancipation a blunder, if you will—a political mistake, a social wrong, a moral imbecility—but hesitate, before the earnest philanthropy of Christian England, in behalf of injured Africa, and the rights of mankind, is stigmatized with the taint of infidel inception and success.[1]

Your whole theory on this subject is utterly untenable. You might as well attempt to prove that the infidel philosophy on the subject of *civil government* had its culminating triumph in the formation of the *American Constitution*, as that the revived interest, in America and England, in the abolition of slavery, is indebted to the same low source for life

[1] For one, I have not yet lost all confidence in the wisdom of this measure.

and power. Washington, the representative man of his age, was a true representative of the Christianity and patriotism of his country, when in his last will and testament, he placed on record his views of the rights of mankind, and gave freedom to all his slaves.

8. Another historical error in your letter, is the declaration that good men, like Dr. Scott, have insidiously betrayed scriptural truth by erroneous expositions, and thus prepared the way for the most violent abolitionism.

I think, in the first place, that you do injustice to Dr. Scott by an erroneous "exposition" of his views. That able and judicious commentator does not say, or mean, that the Christian master should "greatly alleviate or nearly annihilate," any evil which concerns his *behaviour "to his servants."* This is Dr. Armstrong's own "gloss." Dr. Scott says, that "Christian masters were instructed to behave towards their slaves in such a manner as would greatly alleviate, or nearly annihilate *the evils of slavery.*" The commentator well knew that, however exemplary might be the conduct of "Christian masters" towards their own slaves, on their own plantations, some of the "evils of slavery," as a system, would still remain in existence.

If Dr. Scott, in his other remarks, intended to express the opinion that the Apostles considered slavery to be in itself sinful, but were restrained by

prudential considerations from enjoining emancipation, he was certainly wrong. It is probable that he merely intended to vindicate, on general principles, the true scriptural plan. However that may be, he was correct, when he added that "the principles of both the law and the Gospel, when carried to their consequences, will infallibly abolish slavery." Was he not authorized, in expounding Scripture, to give what he conceived to be the full meaning of the passage? Dr. Hodge, in like manner, says in his commentary on Ephesians, 6 : 5: "The scriptural doctrine is opposed to the opinion that slavery is in itself a desirable institution, and as such to be cherished and perpetuated."

Mr. Barnes's remarks, which you quote, I agree with you in repudiating. But he is as far from being an infidel as Dr. Scott. If Mr. Barnes goes a "bow-shot beyond Dr. Scott," I think that, in regard to the connivance of either with Infidelity, you draw a bow "at a venture."

Dr. Scott's commentaries were published in 1796. They have certainly had little influence in imposing Anti-slavery opinions upon the Presbyterian Church. As far back as 1787, our highest judicatory uttered stronger declarations than are to be found in those commentaries. The Synod declared that it "highly approved of the general principles in favour of *universal liberty* that prevail in America, and the interest

which many of the States have taken in *promoting the abolition of slavery.*"

Commentators, from the days of Dr. Scott, onward, naturally noticed the subject of slavery in its relation to Scripture, more than their predecessors. So far as their commentaries are erroneous, they are to be condemned. Each is to be judged by himself. I do not believe in the philosophical or infidel succession you have attempted to establish.

9. A *brief sketch of ultra Pro-slavery opinions* may be fairly given as an offset to the Anti-slavery history of your Letter.

Previous to the formation of the American Constitution, public opinion, in this country, had been gathering strength, adversely to the slave-trade and slavery. The first legislature of the State of Virginia prohibited the importation of Africans; and some of her most distinguished public men were unfavourable, not only to the increase, but even to the continuance of slavery within her borders. The Congress of the old Confederation, with the unanimous consent of all the Southern as well as Northern States, provided, in 1787, that slavery should be forever excluded from the Northwest Territory, which territory then constituted the whole of the public domain. In the same year, the framers of the Constitution of the United States enacted that the African slave-trade should cease in 1808, so far as the "existing States" were

concerned; reserving to Congress the right to prohibit it before that time in new States or Territories — a right which Congress exercised in 1804, by prohibiting the importation of Africans into the new Territory of Orleans.

Daniel Webster, in the Senate of the United States, affirmed that two things "are quite clear as historical truths. One is, that there was an expectation that, on the ceasing of the importation of slaves from Africa, slavery would begin to run out here. That was hoped and expected. Another is, that as far as there was any power in Congress to prevent the spread of slavery in the United States, that power was executed in the most absolute manner, and to the fullest extent. . . . . But opinion has changed—greatly changed —changed North and changed South. Slavery is not regarded, at the South now, as it was then."[1] Without carrying this sketch into the details of modern party politics, which would be foreign to my purpose, it is sufficient to note that this change of sentiment, at the South, has grown more and more marked, down to the present time. Even the project of *reviving the African slave-trade* has been recently entertained in

[1] Mr. Webster emphatically stated, in the same speech, that, at the formation of the Constitution, "there was, if not an entire unanimity of sentiment, a general concurrence of sentiment running through *the whole community*, and especially entertained by the *eminent men of all parts of the country*," on this subject.

the legislatures of several States. Slavery is now publicly advocated as a desirable and permanent institution, having a complete justification in the word of God. Its advocacy is, by others, placed on the infidel ground of the original diversity of races. In fact, is not Infidelity as busily engaged in vindicating, and propping up, ultra pro-slavery opinions at the South, as it has ever been in agitating its untruths, at the North?[1] There is little religion in either extreme. It is to be hoped that the tendency on both sides of the question to a change from bad to worse, will be arrested in the good providence of God.

10. Your historical sketch errs in *reducing all opposition to slavery to the same category.*

A history of Anti-slavery opinions requires careful discrimination, in order to do justice to all parties. The "conservatives" differ fundamentally from the ultra faction, which denounces slaveholding as necessarily sinful, and which accepts no solution but immediate and universal emancipation. Nor do they, or can they, sympathize with the equally fanatical opinions on the other side. We profess to maintain the firm, scriptural ground, occupied by our Church from the beginning. Presbyterians at the North have

[1] It is well known, that the infidel publication of Gliddon and Agassiz, one of whose principal aims is to prove that the negro is not a descendant of Adam, has had an extensive circulation in the Southern States.

been enabled, under God, to uphold the testimonies of the General Assembly in their incorrupt integrity. Will not our brethren at the South appreciate our position, and the service we have rendered to morals and religion? Your historical sketch confounds all varieties of opinion in opposition to the permanence of slavery, and reduces them to one common principle of evil. Omission, under such circumstances, is commission. It inflicts an injury upon your truest friends; and more, it disparages the cause of truth and righteousness. Far be it from me to impute to you any intention of this kind. On the contrary, I am sure that you will gladly rectify the inadvertence.

I rejoice in the belief that the Presbyterian Church is substantially united on the fundamental principles involved in this question. If any danger should hereafter threaten our unity, it will arise from the extreme advocates of slavery. So far as I have any personal knowledge of my brethren in the Southern section of the Church, or have observed their proceedings in the General Assembly, I have yet to learn that they are disposed to depart from our ancient Presbyterian testimonies. Few persons, on either side, seem inclined to adopt extreme opinions. Various statements in your Letters have excited, perhaps unreasonably, the apprehension of a tendency in them to create and cherish divisions. One of the impressions, derived from the perusal of your third Letter, is that slavery

is fortified by the Bible and the Church, and that the institution would be safe enough in perpetuity, if "worldly causes" would keep in the right direction, and Infidelity cease its assaults. Your historical account is, at least, so apologetical, that it may conciliate, and even stimulate, the ultra defenders of slavery.

You rightly suggest that error has an insidious beginning. It is on this principle, doubtless, that ultra men at the North, and at the South, have succeeded in accomplishing much injury. The "classic story" of the fall of Troy, by means of the wooden horse filled with Grecian enemies, affords an instructive lesson. The enemies without the city would have built that structure in vain, if leaders within the city had not brought it through the walls. It is through the breaches, made by Christian chieftains, that Infidelity is drawn into our citadel. Extreme views, on either side, combine to overthrow the true doctrine of the Church.

It may be affirmed, without boasting, and in humble gratitude to God, that the Presbyterian Church occupies a commanding position, at the present time, among the hosts of God's elect. Our declared principles on slavery, emancipation, and Christian fellowship will endure the scrutiny, and at last command the admiration of the world. Unterrified by Northern fanaticism, and unseduced by Southern, Presby-

terians behold their banner floating peacefully over their ancient ramparts. With continued UNITY in our councils, the cause of philanthropy and religion will, under God, be safe in our charge, and be handed down with increasing victories, from generation to generation.

I am yours fraternally,

C. VAN RENSSELAER.

ARTICLE IV.

ON THE PROPER STATEMENT OF THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINE OF SLAVERY.

To the Rev. George D. Armstrong, D.D.:

An amicable discussion of slavery, instead of suggesting to you "the dark and bloody ground" of Kentucky, with its scenes of savage warfare, only required our presence on the field of scriptural truth. The appearance of brother Armstrong, with rifle in hand, is not a pleasant clerical sight, introduced by the law of association into the perspective; nor is it a very terrible one, for I have discovered that, even with the aim of so good a marksman as himself, a rifle-shot is "not necessarily and in all circumstances" exact.

Your allusion to "the shrieks for freedom" is the first political allusion made in our discussion, and this footprint upon the "dark and bloody ground," leading into a trail of the wilderness, I respectfully decline to follow.

Your remark that sections and divisions "secure perspicuity" and "guard against misapprehension," is a very good one.

SECTION I.—DR. ARMSTRONG ADMITS THE TRUTH OF MY GENERAL PROPOSITION.

The issue between us is whether my proposition that "slaveholding is not necessarily and in all circumstances sinful," is liable to just exception as an inexact, or inadequate, expression of the scriptural doctrine in the premises; or whether your proposition that "slaveholding is not a sin in the sight of God" is more accurate and complete. The characteristic difference in the phraseology of the two propositions is that mine has a special reference to *circumstances*, whilst you deny the right to admit them. Your own incidental concessions decide that the introduction of circumstances is right and necessary.

§ 1. You expressly declare, among the articles of your faith on this subject, that "slavery is expedient or inexpedient, right or wrong, *according to circumstances*." p. 68. I have substituted, as you permit, "slavery" for "civil despotism;" and here I find my own proposition written down as true by Dr. Armstrong, under "circumstances" quite remarkable in an objector. I am aware that you maintain that this doctrine is not deducible entirely from Scripture, but that it is partly deducible from reason, and includes a political view. This point I shall examine presently. All that I desire you to notice now, is that my proposition, irrespective of the mode of its proof, is really the *true one*, by your own admission.

§ 2. In your original Letter, you deny that "all slaveholding is sinless in the sight of God." Of course, some slaveholding is sinful; and what but circumstances must determine its character? You also explicitly declare that, "when we state the proposition, that slaveholding is not a sin in the sight of God, it can apply to such slaveholding only as subsists in conformity with the law of God." pp. 11 and 12. Here again, do not circumstances decide whether it is justifiable or not?

§ 3. You, over and over, admit, in your last Letter, that slavery classes with the *adiaphora*, or things indifferent. Civil despotism, or slavery, "belongs in morals to the *adiaphora*, or things indifferent;" pp. 68, 69, 72. Now the characteristic, formal nature of such things is that they are not *per se*, or necessarily and in all circumstances, either right or wrong, but that they may be either right or wrong *according to circumstances*.

With all these admissions in favour of my form of statement, made so clearly and palpably by yourself, it would be difficult to see what opening you leave for further assaults upon it, were it not for a distinction you set up between the *scriptural* and the *whole* view of the subject, which I shall proceed to examine. It is a great point gained, when Dr. Armstrong plainly concedes that the *whole*, or complete view of the sub-

ject demands the introduction of "circumstances," which is the chief point in dispute between us.

SECTION II.—DR. ARMSTRONG ON POLITICS; DISTINCTION BETWEEN SCRIPTURE AND REASON, ETC.

The distinction you make between the scriptural and the political relations of the subject is one of the two significant points of your Rejoinder.

§ 1. Whilst my proposition is admitted to be right, in view of the *combined* testimony of Scripture and reason, you maintain that Scripture alone does not authorize it. Is not this, in effect, saying that the Bible is not a sufficient rule of faith and practice on the subject of slavery? Mark; we are not now discussing any of the questions of capital and labour, or any State plans of general emancipation. The question before us is one concerning our relations to God. It is the case, we will suppose, of a slaveholding member of your own church, whose conscience is agitated by the question of duty in regard to his slaves. Has he any other guidance for the general principles of his conduct, than his Bible? Can he go to the laws of the State for peace of mind? Or can his reason supply any light which has not its source in revelation? Do you say that this is not a question of morals? I reply that you yourself admit that slavery "belongs in *morals* to the *adiaphora*." If so, it must be brought to the test of God's word, as inter-

preted by the best use of reason. On such a question as this, we cannot say, "this part of the doctrine comes from revelation, and that part from reason," or "slavery is right according to Scripture, but right or wrong according to politics." What we are aiming at is a general formula, embracing the moral principles by which slavery can be judged. And human reason, making its deductions from the general spirit, principles, and precepts of Scripture, deduces the *whole* doctrine, which has the authority of "Thus saith the Lord." According to your view, reason is an independent source of authority, going beyond the word of God, on this practical moral question; whilst I maintain that reason finds in the Word of God the moral elements for the determination of duty, and must gather up the results of scriptural declarations with all care, and with subjection to the Divine authority. The great error of the abolitionists consists in running wild with your doctrine, and they undertake to declare by "reason" even what the Scriptures *ought* to teach.

§ 2. Your own declarations in regard to despotism and slavery, which we both place in the same category, show that the Scriptures actually cover the entire subject. You state, on p. 69, and also 80, that "the doctrines of passive obedience," and of "the Divine right of kings," are not implied in the scriptural injunctions to obey the powers that be, and to

submit to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake. That is to say, you admit that passive obedience is not a scriptural doctrine, or, in other words, that civil revolution is authorized, under certain circumstances, by the word of God. This is the doctrine our fathers taught and preached in the Revolutionary War, and which the Jacobites and non-juring divines in England resisted. This is the true doctrine. And yet, on the same page, a few lines farther on, you inconsistently state that "right of revolution is a political right, the doctrine of revolution, a political doctrine; and, *therefore*, we have no reason to expect that they will be taught us in the Word of God; I receive them as true *upon the authority of reason:*" p. 69. So that the conclusion you seem finally to reach is that "passive obedience" is the doctrine of Scripture; but the right of revolution, the doctrine of reason! And let it be noted, you come to this conclusion, although you had, a few lines before, declared that passive obedience is "not implied" in the command to obey Nero! The truth must lie somewhere in the confusion of these contradictory propositions; and, in my judgment, it lies just here: resistance to tyrants may be justified by the Word of God; and, therefore, the doctrine of revolution is a *scriptural* doctrine.

§ 3. Your attempted distinction between what is scriptural and what is political, is an entire fallacy,

so far as the general principles of duty are concerned. You say that "the Scriptures were given to teach us religion and not politics;" p. 69. But is not "politics" the science of our duties and obligations to the State? The Bible regulates our duties to God, to ourselves, to our fellow-creatures, and to the State. We owe no duty to the State that cannot be derived from the Bible. All our political duties are moral duties. Is not obedience a political duty? And does not the Bible place obedience on moral grounds — "wherefore, ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake:" Rom. 13: 5. All our duties to the State are taught in the Scriptures. The Word of God gives us the general principles of morality that apply to civil despotism and slavery, whilst the details about revolution and the plans of emancipation are political measures, which belong to the State. Your error is in saying that, emancipation being political, is placed beyond the reach of the Bible and of the Church.

§ 4. I have, by no means, intended to deny that there is a broad distinction between the Church and the State, as likewise between each of these and the family. But this does not withdraw either, or all of them, from the reach of moral, religious, and Christian obligation. A wrong, immoral, or sinful act does not cease to be such, because it is done in the family or by the State. It is just as "properly sinful" as if

done by an individual. If a community, in their political capacity, license gambling, or prostitution, the act of granting the license, or using it, is none the less sinful in both parties, because it is done politically. If the people in any of these United States vote to establish a despotism with power to persecute Christianity, they do a wicked act. If the constitution and laws of Virginia should be so altered as to prohibit masters from teaching their slaves to read the Bible, all parties to such a proceeding would be guilty of sin. The State is under moral obligations to act righteously. Slaveholding, as it now exists in the southern portion of our country, may not now be, nor do I believe it is, a sinful relation on the part of the great body of masters, nor does it involve sin on the part of the lawgivers simply for authorizing its present existence. But a condition of things may arise, in which what is now sinless may become sinful, whether allowed or not by the State. Things in their own nature sinful, or things indifferent in themselves which in given circumstances are inconsistent with Christian love, justice, and mercy, are not made otherwise, because authorized by the civil power. The continuance of slavery by law, when "well being" and "the general good" require emancipation, would be sinful.

§ 5 A singular climax is reached by your statement, that, when you say, civil despotism, or slavery,

is expedient or inexpedient, right or wrong, according to circumstances," you "do not mean wrong *in the proper sense of sinful:*" p. 69. Then, my dear Doctor, why use the word at all? In what sense do you use it? If wrong does not properly mean "sinful," what does "right" properly mean? and what does "morals" properly mean? and what does "*adiaphora*" properly mean? Is any meaning better determined than the ordinary meaning of "right and wrong?" Do these terms, in moral questions, ever fail to denote the moral quality of actions and relations? Ought right and wrong to have two meanings in a minister's vocabulary?

It is, indeed, not to be denied that some things, in themselves indifferent, may be inexpedient, which could not at the same time be pronounced sinful. Such things as protective tariffs and free trade, greater or less costliness of dress or equipage, in certain circumstances, might be put into this category. But there are others again, whose inexpediency arises from the *circumstances* that render them *immoral*, or direct instruments of immorality and irreligion. They are inexpedient, because, though in some circumstances innocent, yet in the circumstances in question, they are immoral. The mere sale, or use, of ardent spirits is a thing indifferent. It is sinful or sinless, according to circumstances. But, if a man were to keep a tippling-shop, in which he derives his profits

from pandering to vicious appetites and making drunkards of the young men of a community, this is criminal and unchristian, although he could show a thousand licenses from the civil authority for doing it. The same would be true of engaging in the African slave trade, although Southern convention after convention were to favour it, and the Federal Government were to sanction it. And, in general, to take your own expression, any slaveholding, which does not "subsist in conformity to the law of God," is of the same character. Although there are the *adiaphora* in the sphere of religion and politics which may be deemed inexpedient without being pronounced sinful, there are others which are inexpedient, because, in the circumstances, the doing of them inevitably involves sin. Of this sort, is the *procuring*, or *the holding* of slaves, in *circumstances* which make it contrary to Christian love, justice, and mercy. And it alters not the moral nature of such conduct to label it "political."

§ 6. It is deserving of notice that slaveholding is not a political institution in the sense that it is made obligatory by law. A slaveholder can emancipate his slaves in Virginia at any time he sees proper, or his conscience will allow; and notwithstanding certain restrictions in some of the States, it is believed that in none is the subject altogether withdrawn from the master's control. In your State, the continuance or discontinuance of slaveholding is a question, depend-

ing, indeed, upon considerations of the social and public welfare, but yet not requiring political action. Emancipation has been generally regarded, in such cases, as a benevolent, moral, or religious act, and is performed by the individual in the fear of God, without reference to the powers that be. The general spirit of the laws, as well as of public opinion, may be even opposed to emancipation; and yet the individual, as a citizen, has a perfect right to give freedom to his slaves. In such cases, in what sense is the continuance or discontinuance of slaveholding "in part a *political* doctrine, which it is the business of the statesman to expound, and the civil ruler to apply?" Granting, however, certain political relations, I have shown that this does not exclude the general principles of the Bible from controlling the subject.

§ 7. Nor does it alter anything, so far as our present issue is concerned, to say that what the Scriptures teach is one thing, and what I know by the natural faculties is another thing. The distinction between these things is important, and where the teachings of reason and revelation are in conflict, requires us to submit reason to revelation. But it does not admit of the possibility of two contradictory beliefs in the same mind, at the same time, in regard to the same subject. I cannot believe on the authority of Scripture that all slaveholding is sinless, and on the authority of my reasoning that some slaveholding is

sinful. These propositions exclude each other. If I believe one to be true on whatever evidence, I cannot, at the same time, believe the other to be true, on any evidence whatsoever. Now, as Dr. Armstrong admits, with Dr. Hodge, p. 72, that, in some circumstances, domestic slavery may be wrong and unjust, and that it is so in circumstances involving a violation of the Divine law, p. 6, you must hold what you call your scriptural doctrine, that "slaveholding is not a sin in the sight of God," in the sense of a particular and not a universal proposition, *i. e.*, that *some* slaveholding is not a sin—and not that *all* slaveholding is sinless, and consequently you must hold that the former of these two last statements, gives the true and exact Scripture doctrine, and the *whole* doctrine, too.

Withal, your proposition, that "slaveholding is not a sin in the sight of God," is not in the language of Scripture. And, even if it were, it is only necessary to remember that a proposition, which is a general one in its form, is often in reality, like yours, a particular one. It is one of the simplest laws of interpretation, that, where the extent in which the subject of a proposition is used, is not determined by such qualifying adjuncts as "some," "all," "every," etc., we must infer it from other things which show the writer's meaning. Those who are conversant with Arminian and Universalist polemics, know how often it is necessary to adopt some exegetical qualification.

When your meaning is explicated in full and exact expression, it emerges into precisely my own proposition. Your distinction between Scripture and reason is, *quoad hoc*, utterly pointless. Nor does it require a very high exercise of the "natural faculties" to see this.

§ 8. It is with some surprise that I find you saying that you accept some things as true, but not as binding upon the conscience. You say, "the first statement [yours] sets forth truth which must bind the conscience, and exactly defines the limits of Church power. The latter [mine] though I *receive it as true*, does *neither the one* nor the other:" p. 70. The fact is, to a conscientious man this is a sheer impossibility. So far as a man believes a given proposition to be true, he is bound, and feels bound in conscience, to act as if it were true. Some propositions and truths are, indeed, more immediately ethical in their nature than others, and thus speak more directly to the conscience. Among the first, and self-evident principles of ethics is this, that we ought to cleave and conform to the truth. The proposition that two and two make four is not a scriptural or ethical proposition. Neither is the proposition that our country is increasing in population with unexampled rapidity. But he, who regards them as true, is bound by Scripture and conscience to act as if they were so. He sins in doing otherwise. The Bible does not explicitly announce

every true thing which we are to believe, and to be bound by in our conduct, although its principles lead to it. It assumes that a multitude of things, which control our interpretation and application of it, are known otherwise. And it enjoins us, "if there be any virtue," to regard "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report:" Phil. 4 : 8. Whatever, therefore, you believe to be true respecting slaveholding, must bind your conscience. Slaveholding can never get beyond the authority of conscience and the Bible.

SECTION III.—DR. ARMSTRONG ON THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

In showing that my form of statement was coincident with that of the General Assembly, a comparison was instituted between it and all the deliverances of the Assembly from 1787 to 1845. You carefully avoid any reference to any action of the General Assembly, except the one of 1845, which is the only one you venture to claim as in any respect covering your ground. Why is this, Doctor? Are you afraid of the whole light? Or do you think that the action of 1845 was scriptural, whilst all the previous action was only deducible by "*reason?*" Or do you believe that the testimony of 1845 was contrary to, and subversive of, the testimony of 1787

and of 1818? If you take the latter ground, then I beg you to remember that the Assembly of 1846 passed the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That in the judgment of this House, the action of the General Assembly of 1845 was not intended to deny or rescind the testimony often uttered by the General Assemblies previous to that date:" Baird's Digest, 814. So you perceive that the Assembly's testimony is *one harmonious whole.*

But without pressing you further on this point, I turn to your singular evasions of the forms of statements adopted by the Assembly of 1845. These forms are obviously, both in spirit and in words, so precisely like my own, that the only method of getting round them is to raise the cry of "abolition!" Your argument is that, because the abolitionists use a certain form of expression, therefore, the expressions of the Assembly, which are similar but in the *negative*, are "like poor land, which the more a man has, the worse off he is." Now does not my good brother Armstrong know that it makes no difference from what quarter the language comes, provided the Assembly judged it suitable to give expression to its own opinions? But such a trivial objection — which is worth to a controversialist about as much as a Virginia "old field" is to a planter — has not even the solidity of "poor land," but vanishes away into a cloud of dust before the sweeping statement of the

General Assembly, in these words: "The question, therefore, which this General Assembly is called upon to decide, is this: Do the Scriptures teach that the holding of slaves, *without regard to circumstances*, is a sin, the renunciation of which should be made a condition of membership in the Church of Christ?" p. 812. That was the point which the Assembly not only expressed in its own language, but decided by its last action, viz., that *circumstances* enter into the justification, or condemnation, of slaveholding.

It may be added that Dr. N. L. Rice, who drew up the Report, is not apt to use the contradictory of the language of abolitionists, unless it is the very best form to meet their fanaticism. There is not a particle of evidence from the records, however, to show that the Assembly merely followed the language of others. The four quotations *vary in form*, which is the best possible proof that the language is original and independent, whilst the idea of "circumstances" pervades the whole Report. Your "leafless tree" must, therefore, continue to remain in its withered state; for it receives neither light nor heat from the luminary of the General Assembly. Here are the four quotations referred to:

1. "The question, which is now unhappily agitating and dividing other branches of the Church, is, whether the holding of slaves is, under all circumstances, a heinous sin, calling for the discipline of the Church."

2. "The question which this Assembly is called upon to decide

is this: Do the Scriptures teach that the holding of slaves, without regard to circumstances, is a sin?"

3. "The Apostles did not denounce the relation itself as sinful."

4. "The Assembly cannot denounce the holding of slaves as necessarily a heinous and scandalous sin."

If the reader wishes to see how the uniform testimony of the General Assembly sustains my form of stating the doctrine (whilst it ignores that of Dr. Armstrong), he may find the record on pages 262–3, in the first Article.

SECTION IV. — DR. ARMSTRONG'S WEAPON TO DO BATTLE WITH.

I still think that your mode of stating the doctrine lacks the power of resisting abolitionism. Nor am I convinced of the contrary by the "fact" you adduce, which is, indeed, somewhat shadowy or indefinite. If we are to understand by the "fact," Dr. Hill's high estimate of your skill as a champion, it does not necessarily follow that, after seeing your statement of the doctrine, Dr. Hill should consider it the *best possible;* and if he should, I do not see that his opinion is more of "a fact" than mine. Or if the "fact" be that the two selected champions could not agree on the terms of the combat, I do not think that this is a proof of skill on either side. Or if the "fact" be that, after you had put forth your argument, you gave your adversary the challenge to fight in the mode of

your own choice, I do not think it a necessary and logical inference that his declination shows he considered your arguments, in all respects, unanswerable. And if he did, it is not clear that all other people should; or that my opinion should not have as much weight as that of a man who, for some reason or other, has not condescended to notice your excellent book at all. I deny, therefore, the correctness of your charge, that I have "compelled you to become a fool in glorying," because there has really been no occasion to glory.

Do not understand me as, in the least, disparaging your ability as a logician and controversialist. Far from it. No man, probably, in Virginia, could sustain, with more plausibility and force, your defective proposition on slavery. But notwithstanding all this exhibition of your controversial skill, I believe it to be a "fact," that your proposition is "no weapon to do battle with." The statement that "slaveholding is not a sin in the sight of God," without reference to circumstances, has not the capacity to do full execution. As a cannon-ball with holes and cavities cannot be made to go straight, so your statement of doctrine zigzags away from the mark, in spite of all your propelling powers.

I have never doubted the purity of your intentions. But it is a singular development of human nature that men, who were born at the North, should gene-

rally be the warmest advocates of extravagant pro-slavery views. This is not said *in invidiam;* but as a simple rejoinder to your statement that, being born at the North, you had many prejudices to overcome, before reaching your present opinions. I do not doubt the truth of this latter statement.

SECTION V. — DR. ARMSTRONG ON SYLLOGISMS.

§ 1. Let us now turn again, from comparatively irrevelant matter, to the real point at issue. You have put your argument, with some show of triumph, into the form of a syllogism, and peremptorily call me to meet the argument "fairly and squarely," for "thus only can you [I] influence the opinions of thinking men:" p. 78. I accept the syllogistic form and the appeal to thinking men, and shall endeavor to show the weakness of your first and principal syllogism. The others require no notice, now. Your syllogism is as follows:

"A. Whatever Christ and his inspired Apostles refused to make a bar to communion, a court of Christ has no authority to make such.

"But, Christ and his inspired Apostles did refuse to make slaveholding a bar to communion.

"Therefore, a court of Christ has no authority to make slaveholding a bar to communion:" p. 76.

§ 2. In the first place, I deny the correctness of your logical view of the syllogism; and in the second

place, I maintain that, even if the syllogism were faultless, it would not prove that my statement of the Scripture doctrine of slavery was wrong.

As to the syllogism, the error is in supposing that there are no circumstances, of any sort, in the premises. It is true that no circumstances, or qualifications, are introduced *expressly*, or in so many words; but they are *implied;* and, according to "a fundamental principle of logic," they are implied, to an equal extent, in the conclusion. I have shown, over and over again, that your own proposition, when analyzed, has reference to *some*, not to *all* slavery; and, therefore, that some circumstances are necessarily introduced. In your answer to the question whether your proposition "involves the idea that all slaveholding is sinless in the sight of God," you say, "By no means:" p. 6. And again, your proposition "can properly apply to such slaveholding only as subsists in conformity with the law of God:" p. 7. Now all such circumstances, as render slaveholding unlawful, are implied in the premise, and consequently in the conclusion. The resolution adopted by the General Assembly, explicitly refers to circumstances in the general, under which slavery exists in the United States. The Assembly's paper was formed in view of those circumstances, and they qualify the whole document.

It is perfectly clear that "circumstances" must be

necessarily implied to some extent, in your syllogism, according to your theory of its meaning; and "circumstances" are involved in the conclusion by a "fundamental principle of logic."

§ 3. Admitting, however, that slaveholding, within the limits specified by yourself (which exclude the general circumstances connected with "well being" and the "public welfare," called by you "political"), cannot be made a bar to Church communion, what then? Does this prove that slaveholding does not become sinful, when "well being" and the "public welfare" require emancipation? Or does it prove that slaveholding may continue to exist without sin "until Christ's second coming?" By no means. Slaveholding may become sinful under circumstances in which it cannot be made the subject of Church discipline. It is just because slaveholding is right or wrong according to circumstances, that it is not allowed to become a bar to Church communion. Expediency cannot be made the ground of universal and perpetual obligation; and, therefore, things that in morals are classed among the *adiaphora* are not necessarily within the range of Church discipline. But are such things, therefore, innocent under all circumstances? Of course not. Their very nature implies the contrary. The fact that the Church is precluded, by the nature of the case, from disciplining persons, whose conduct is "right or *wrong* according to cir-

cumstances," does not acquit such persons of sin. They may be great sinners "in the sight of God," for holding their fellow-men in bondage under circumstances contrary to "well being" and the "public welfare;" although the Church, which cannot read the hearts of men, or decide upon the details covering every case, may be prevented from exercising discipline. Your syllogism, therefore, proves nothing.

As the proper jurisdiction of the Church comes up in your next Letter, I will reserve its further discussion for that occasion.

SECTION VI. — DR. ARMSTRONG EXPLAINING HIS PROPOSITION.

One of the most singular things in this controversy — which, I do not wonder, begins to assume to you the appearance of "a dark and bloody ground" — is that my friend, Dr. Armstrong, first declares that every proposition "should be so expressed" as to bear examination "apart from all explanations," and then feels himself compelled, at every point, to offer explanations. This necessity is inherent in the nature of your doctrinal statement, and its defectiveness is made manifest by your own rule. A proposition that needs continual explanations, must be either obscurely or illogically expressed. I think yours is both; and obscurely, because illogically.

§ 1. Your first explanation is uncalled for; because

your proposition, faulty as it is, was never charged with sanctioning the "incidental evils of slavery."

In saying, with Dr. Spring, that "the bondage of the Hebrews partook of the character of apprenticeship rather than of rigorous servitude," reference was made to the *mode of treatment* under the two relations, without confounding their nature.

It seems that my good brother Armstrong is willing to adopt the phraseology, "Slaveholding, in itself considered, is not sinful," provided I will allow him to make an explanation that explains it away; but on all such explanations as causes it to mean, "slaveholding free from its incidental evils," I am constrained to put my *veto*. Your explanation makes the meaning to be, "slaveholding *in itself considered*, is right, if the *circumstances* are right;" that is, "slaveholding, without regard to circumstances is right, if the circumstances are right!"

§ 2. Your proposition certainly seems to justify the permanence of slavery. Notwithstanding your protests and disclaimers, and although you mean not so, your doctrine establishes passive obedience and the perpetuity of despotism and slavery. You set forth, as an article of faith, binding the conscience, that we must obey the powers that be, and that despotism and slavery are not sins. You object to interpolating into these propositions any qualifying or limiting circumstances, and have written two elaborate Letters

against it. You, indeed, believe that circumstances may make them wrong: p. 7. But, then, you believe this "upon the authority of reason;" and, therefore, as you hold, this belief does *not* bind the conscience. Whoever, then, under the most oppressive despotism contends for the right of revolution, or, when a community has fairly outgrown the state in which slavery is otherwise than unjust, for emancipation, is contending for what does not bind any man's conscience; while the doctrine that despotism and slavery are no sins—to which you will not allow any limitation from circumstances to be applied—confronts him, and *does* bind his conscience. How, if this be so, can a conscientious man, in any "circumstances" undertake to withhold obedience from despots, and exercise the "right of revolution," or venture to promote emancipation?

§ 3. The proposition that "slaveholding is not a sin in the sight of God," is so broad as to appear to cover up many circumstances that make it wrong. As an abstract proposition, without any explanation, —and you say, it ought to be so clear as to dispense with explanations—it certainly seems to involve the consequences mentioned in one of my Letters. Some of your explanations, of course, relieve it from some of the objections; but not from all. As a moral rule for keeping the conscience in a healthful condition, it is peculiarly faulty. If the relation become a sinful

one, whenever the circumstances of "well being" and the "public welfare" require its dissolution, how completely in the dark does your statement keep the moral agent! What you call the *scriptural* doctrine is only a part of the true doctrine, and it tends to lull the conscience under the professed guidance of revelation.

§ 4. Your objection to my proposition that it "acquits the slaveholding member of the Church by a sort of *whip and clear him* judgment," is as untenable as ever, notwithstanding your version of that expression. It seems, by the bye, that the expression, instead of meaning "strike first, and then acquit," means "acquit first, and then strike!" How my statement can be interpreted into Lynch-law, which, either way, means the same thing, I am at a loss to conjecture. Mine is, you perceive, the *exact contradictory* of the abolition doctrine. It, in fact, "whips" the abolitionist, whilst it "clears" the slaveholder, if "circumstances" are in his favour. Far be it from me to cast any odium upon my brethren at the South, who are faithfully endeavoring to do their duty in the midst of many trials and anxieties. "God bless them in their work of faith and labour of love," is the prayer of ten thousands of Christians at the North. I have honestly thought that my proposition affords to the conscientious slaveholder *a clearer vindication* than yours; and it is not encumbered with the dif-

ficulties and logical consequences, that press yours on every side.

§ 5. The last paragraph in your Letter is singularly out of place. In arguing against your statement, I attempted to show that the opinions, which you complain of my charging upon you, were "fairly involved" in that form of statement. A controversialist is not supposed to charge the obnoxious inferences as the opinions of his adversary, but rather, to take it for granted that he repudiates these opinions, and hence will be constrained to repudiate the doctrine that leads to them by legitimate consequences; or, at all events, if not he, that the public, to whom the argument is also addressed, will repudiate it. However this may be, no one has a right to complain of an adversary for showing the evil consequences of his opinions. To object to the refutation of an argument by showing its false consequences, is to object to its being refuted at all.

SECTION VII. — THOUGHTS TOWARDS THE CLOSE.

§ 1. It is not at all unlikely that many "thinking men," who carefully consider our respective statements, will think the statement, "slaveholding is not necessarily and in all circumstances sinful" a much better one than "slaveholding is not a sin in the sight of God." My statement needs no explanations, whilst yours requires props on every side.

§ 2. Your suggestion of spending *ten* hours to my *one*, in considering the subject of slavery, is of no avail in an argument. Moral propositions depend upon being supported by truth, not time. There are some men, who are "always learning, and never able to come to a knowledge of the truth." This, of course, does not apply to yourself; especially, because you are so near the truth, that there is every reason to expect that you will soon reach it, in its perfection.

§ 3. Your complaint that our brethren at the South have been subjected to much misapprehension and obloquy by fanatical men at the North, is unfortunately true. I deprecate this as much as you do. But a good degree of this abuse has been owing to the ultra defenders of slavery, whose unwarrantable statements and arguments have provoked a spirit of alienation and a fierce reaction both in sentiment and in practice. The continuance of the peace of our Church depends, under God, upon the continuance of the moderation which has hitherto characterized our spirit, opinions, and measures.

§ 4. You say, "Let Mr. Barnes specify the *circumstances*, and I doubt whether even he would object to your statement:" p. 76. This is precisely what Mr. Barnes has no right to do for another man. He may form his own judgment of the case, and express it, and argue it, and endeavour to make all others receive it as true. But he cannot enforce his own views as a

moral standard for others. As he admits that "Abraham's slaveholding was no sin," there is good reason to hope for candour, in general. But neither he, nor I, nor any other man, can make his own rule of morality, in matters that are *adiaphora*, to be *authority* for anybody else.

§ 5. You ask, why your statement sounds in my ears "like an old tune with unpleasant variations," and sung, you might have added, by the chorister almost alone, whilst Dr. Hodge's sounds like "Old Hundred," in which the whole congregation joins? I will tell you. Your form of statement is unknown to the General Assembly, from its organization down to the present time. You cannot point to a single sentence in all our Church testimonies, that, rightly "said or sung," harmonizes with yours. Dr. Hodge, on the other hand, agrees with the General Assembly, whose form of statement is also adopted by your opponent. Dr. Hodge is in sympathy with *all* the deliverances of the General Assembly, whilst to many of them you carefully avoid allusion, in the very midst of the subject which invites an appeal to them; and even the testimony of 1845 you appear to desire to explain away, and to extract the very pith of doctrine from that majestic rod, that buds even like Aaron's.

§ 6. The eternal principles of justice, which are revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and are the reflec-

tion of the attributes of God, must decide the various questions relating to domestic servitude, and justify or condemn "according to circumstances." Whilst we both agree in the appeal to that tribunal, whose decision is "of record," happier is he who will be found at last to have interpreted that record aright, and to have exhibited the truth in nearest conformity to the Divine will!

I am yours, truly,

C. Van Rensselaer.

ARTICLE V.

EMANCIPATION AND THE CHURCH; SCHEMES OF EMANCIPATION; AFRICAN COLONIZATION, ETC.

To the Rev. George D. Armstrong, D. D.:

Your second rejoinder discusses three subjects: 1. Emancipation and the Church. 2. Emancipation and the State, or Schemes of Emancipation. 3. The History of Anti-slavery Opinions.

The second subject is an entirely new one, which I have hitherto refrained from touching, and which, under ordinary circumstances, I should still decline to discuss.

SECTION I.—IS EMANCIPATION EXCLUSIVELY A POLITICAL QUESTION?

It has been my endeavour to discriminate carefully between the moral and political aspects of slavery, and to disclaim any interference of the Church, with the proper work of the State. The State alone possesses the right to establish and enforce measures of

[1] The course of remark pursued in this article, was determined chiefly by Dr. Armstrong's Rejoinder, to which it is a reply. The Scriptural argument is stated more particularly in my previous letters.

general emancipation. But does legislation exhaust the subject? In my judgment, it does not. Emancipation has moral and religious relations, as well as political. No slaveholder has the moral right to keep his slaves in bondage, if they are prepared for freedom, and he can wisely set them free.[1]

1. There is a distinction between a moral end, to be kept in view, and the political means of attaining that end. The measures to secure emancipation may be political measures, but the end contemplated rests upon a moral obligation. It is my duty, as a Christian, to prepare my slaves for freedom, when Providence opens the way; and yet, I may be so restrained by State laws as to depend upon political intervention for a plan of emancipation. With the latter, the Church has nothing to do.

2. Slavery is not, like despotism, *enjoined* by law. Every individual may be a slaveholder or not, as he pleases. Here is an important distinction, which you entirely overlook. Whilst the State has the right to control emancipation, and can alone originate general measures, binding upon all its citizens, it commonly leaves emancipation to the discretion of the slaveholder himself. In Virginia, any person may emancipate his slaves, who makes provision for their removal

[1] A fair compensation may be claimed for the pecuniary sacrifice involved in manumission, either from the State or from the slaves themselves.

out of the State. The act of emancipation, under these circumstances, is a lawful act of the master, which in no way interferes with politics. Where shall a person thus situated, whose conscience troubles him, go for direction? To the State? To the members of the Legislature? No! The question is one of duty to his God. It involves a religious and moral principle; and, admitting that his slaves are prepared for freedom, it is outside of politics. The slaveholder must search the Scriptures, or he may consult the testimonies of the Church for her interpretation of the Scriptures. The Church has a perfect right to give to her members advice on this subject, which will guide them in perplexity; and this advice may be volunteered, if circumstances seem to demand it.

3. Slaves stand, ecclesiastically, in the relation of children to parents. Our General Assembly has declared that Christian masters, who have the right to bring their children to baptism, may also present for baptism, in their own name, the children of their slaves. Can it be conceived that the Church has no right to counsel her members concerning the nature and continuance of this peculiar relationship throughout her own households?

4. Slaveholding is "right or wrong, according to circumstances." It belongs in morals to the *adiaphora*, or things indifferent. It may be right in 1858,

and wrong in 1868, according as the slaves may be not prepared, or prepared, for emancipation. The very nature of the class of subjects to which it belongs, places it within the scope of church testimony. The continuance or discontinuance of slaveholding, concerns the character of the slaveholder as a righteous man.

5. Even if the State should altogether remove emancipation from the power of the individual slaveholder, and determine to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over the matter, what then? In the first place, the obligation would still rest upon the master to elevate his slaves, and to set them free whenever the way was open. And in the second place, the master would be bound as a citizen, to exert himself to obtain from the State the necessary public measures to secure at the right time the same object.

Emancipation is not "properly a political question" in any sense that makes it cease to be a moral and religious one. So far as it partakes of the latter character, the Church has a right, within the limits of her authority, to utter her testimony in favour of it.

SECTION II. — SLAVERY AND THE INTERESTS OF THE LIFE TO COME.

One of your arguments for excluding emancipation from the influence of Church testimony is, that "it does not immediately concern the interests of the

life to come." This point can best be determined by impartial witnesses, personally acquainted with the practical workings of slavery. Allow me, then, in all courtesy, to introduce the testimony of some of ablest and most respected ministers of the Presbyterian Church, who are familiar with the system in its best forms. A Committee, appointed by the Synod of Kentucky, made a Report to that body, in 1835, in which they characterized the system of slavery in the following manner:

"There are certain *effects* springing, naturally and necessarily out of such a system, which must also be considered.

"1. Its most striking effect is, *to deprave and degrade its subjects by removing from them the strongest natural checks to human corruption.* There are certain principles of human nature by which God works to save the moral world from ruin. In the slave, these principles are eradicated. He is degraded to a mere creature of appetite and passion. These are the feelings by which he is governed. The salt which preserves human nature is extracted, and it is left a putrefying mass.

"2. *It dooms thousands of human beings to hopeless ignorance.* The slave has no motive to acquire knowledge. The master will not undergo the expense of his education. The law positively forbids it. Nor can this state of things become better unless it is determined that slavery shall cease. Slavery cannot be perpetuated if education be generally or universally given to slaves.

"3. *It deprives its subjects, in a great measure, of the privileges of the Gospel.* Their inability to read prevents their access to the Scriptures. The Bible is to them a sealed book.—There is no adequate provision made for their attendance upon the public means of grace. Nor are they prepared to profit from instructions designed for their masters. They listen when

in the sanctuary to prophesyings in an unknown tongue. Comparatively few of them are taught to bow with their masters around the domestic altar. Family ordinances of religion are almost unknown in the domestic circles of the blacks.

"4. *This system licenses and produces great cruelty.* The whip is placed in the hands of the master, and he may use it at his pleasure, only avoiding the destruction of life. Slaves often suffer all that can be inflicted by wanton caprice, by grasping avarice, by brutal lust, by malignant spite, and by insane anger. Their happiness is the sport of every whim, and the prey of every passion that may enter the master's bosom. Their bodies are lacerated with the lash. Their dignity is habitually insulted. Their tenderest affections are wantonly crushed. Dearest friends are torn asunder. Brothers and sisters, parents and children, see each other no more. There is not a neighborhood where these heart-rending scenes are not displayed. There is not a village or a road that does not behold the sad procession of manacled outcasts, whose chains and mournful countenances tell that they are exiled by force from all they hold dear.

"5. *It produces general licentiousness among the slaves.* Marriage, as a civil ordinance, they cannot enjoy. Their marriages are mere contracts, voidable at their master's pleasure or their own. And never, in any civilized country, has respect for these restraints of matrimony been more nearly obliterated than it has been among our blacks. This system of universal concubinage produces revolting licentiousness.

"6. *This system demoralizes the whites as well as the blacks.* The masters are clothed with despotic power. To depraved humanity this is exceedingly dangerous. Indolence is thus fostered. And hard-heartedness, selfishness, arrogance, and tyranny are, in most men, rapidly developed and fearfully exhibited.

"7. *This system draws down upon us the vengeance of Heaven.* 'If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn to death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth he not know it? and shall he not render to every man according to his works?' 'The people of the land have used oppression, and exercised robbery, and have

vexed the poor and needy; yea, they have oppressed the stranger wrongfully. . . . Therefore, have I poured out mine indignation upon them: I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath; their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord.' Such is the system, such are some of its effects."

The right of the Church to testify against the permanence of a system of this character, cannot be resisted by pointing to the overruling providence of God, through which many slaves have been brought into his kingdom. The Bible, it is true, treats the distinctions of this life as of comparatively little consequence, and enjoins submission even to wrong-doing and persecution. But must the Church, therefore, refrain from testifying against all social and moral evils, and from exhorting her members to use their best endeavours to bring them to an end?

The two facts adduced by you, do not prove that the Church has no interest in emancipation. 1. In regard to the number of Church members among the slaves, I deny that "a larger proportion of the labouring classes belong to the Christian Church where the labourers are chiefly slaves, than in the Northern States, where slavery does not exist."

2. Your second fact, that the number of church members among the slaves, is nearly double the number of communicants in the heathen world, proves that God has overruled the system of slavery for good, but not that the Church has no interest in its abrogation. When we consider that at least twelve

thousand ministers of the Gospel live in the Slave States, being in the proportion of one minister to nine hundred of the whole population, while, on the other hand, the number of missionaries among the heathen is only in the proportion of one minister to three hundred thousand of the population, the comparison by no means exalts slavery as an instrument of evangelization. Look, rather, for a better example to the Sandwich Islands, where society has been Christianized in a single generation.

The system of slavery, as appears from the analysis of its evils by our Kentucky brethren, has so many and immediate connections with the life to come, that the Christian Church may wisely testify in favour of its abrogation, as a lawful end, whenever Providence opens the way for it.

SECTION III. — SLAVERY AND THE BIBLE.

The Word of God, when fairly interpreted, contains much instruction upon this subject. In the first place, the exhortation of Paul to the slaves is: "Art thou called, being a servant? Care not for it. But IF THOU MAYST BE FREE, USE IT RATHER." (1 Cor. 7 : 21.) This last declaration proves that slavery is not a natural and permanent condition; that liberty is a higher and better state than bondage; and that emancipation is an object of lawful desire to the slaves, and a blessing which Christian masters may

labour to confer upon them. In endeavoring to escape the power of this apostolic declaration, you maintain that it has only a local application, and that "throughout the chapter, in answer to inquiries from the Church at Corinth, Paul is giving instruction with especial regard to the circumstances in which the Corinthians were placed at that time, and hence, every special item of advice must be interpreted with this fact in view." The same thing is stated in your book.

1. Admitting your *local* interpretation to be the true one, what then? Does not my good brother Armstrong see that, if he in this way gets rid of Paul's declaration in favour of freedom, he also impairs the permanent obligation of Christian slaves to remain contented in their bondage? If the *second* clause of the sentence has a local application, and is limited to the state of things in the Corinthian Church, is not the *first* clause limited by the same conditions?

2. Again. The Apostle, in this chapter, carefully discriminates between what he speaks by "permission" and what by "commandment;" and it is strange logic that, because some passages, before and after the 21st verse, are of limited application, therefore every verse in the chapter is so. All that relates to virgins, and to the temporary avoidance of matrimony, etc., is declared to be merely advisory, in view of the existing state of things, or "the present distress;"

whereas, the exhortation to believers to be contented with their external condition, from v. 17 to v. 24, is spoken by Divine authority; "and so ordain I in *all the churches*," v. 17. The whole of the passage, 17–24, is manifestly an authoritative declaration of inspiration.

3. Your reasoning in regard to 1 Cor. 7 : 21 would be much more to the purpose, if the hypothesis were that persons were *compelled by law* to enter into the marriage state, or to marry particular individuals. This would be analogous, in the most material points. to the case of the slaves. Surely, if one might be free from such compulsion, he ought to choose it rather, and that not only in apostolic times, but in every age.

Neither your incorrect interpretation nor your incongruous illustration weakens the force of Paul's famous declaration in favour of freedom, as the best social condition, and one that may rightfully be kept in view. Dr. Hodge says, *in loco:* "Paul's object is not to exhort men not to improve their condition. but simply not to allow their social relations to disturb them. He could, with perfect consistency with the context, say, 'Let not your being a slave give you any concern; but if you can become free, choose freedom rather than slavery.'" If the Church, following Paul's example, can give this exhortation to slaves, she can at least exhort and advise masters to

take measures to prepare their slaves for freedom, whenever Providence shall open the way for its blessings.

I have not rested the right of the Church to keep emancipation in view, simply upon this single text, but I have showed that, not only do "the universal spirit and principles of religion originate and foster sentiments favourable to the natural rights of mankind," but that "the injunctions of Scripture to masters tend to and necessarily terminate in emancipation." "If the Scriptures enjoin what, of necessity, leads to emancipation, they enjoin emancipation, when the time comes; if they forbid what is necessary to the perpetuity of slavery, they forbid that slavery should be perpetuated." "The Church, therefore, may scripturally keep in view this great moral result, to the glory of her heavenly King." (See *Letters.*)

SECTION IV. — THINGS THAT AVAIL, OR AVAIL NOT.

1. You remind me that "it will avail nothing to show that *the Church has often made deliverances on the subject in years that are passed,*" and that "political preaching" and "political church-deliverances" date back "from the days of Constantine," when Church and State became united. Here is an ingenious attempt to dishonour history, and to beat down ancient, as well as modern, testimony. (1.) You seem to admit, on reconsideration, that the general testimony

of the Church, from the days of Constantine, is against the perpetuity of slavery. (2.) But how do you account for the fact that the General Assembly of our Church, which, from its very organization, has been *free* from State dominion, has uniformly testified in favour of preparing the slaves for liberty? On referring to your rejoinder, I find this aberration accounted for on the ground that our Church has not had time to "fully comprehend her true position!" A monarchist might say that, for the same reason, our fathers prematurely drew up the Declaration of Independence, not having waited long enough to comprehend the true position of their country! How much time, beyond *half a century*, does it take the Presbyterian Church to define her interpretation of the word of God? The last deliverance of the General Assembly, in 1845, was affirmed by that body to be harmonious with the first deliverance in 1787. Fifty-eight years produced no variation of sentiment. This uniform testimony of the highest judicatory of the Church must naturally possess great weight, or will "avail" much, with every true Presbyterian.[1]

[1] If Dr. Baxter was a "wiser man" "eighteen years" after 1818, and was therefore entitled to the consideration of higher wisdom in 1836, then still higher wisdom is due to the General Assembly, in 1846, when that body reaffirmed the testimony of 1818, *twenty-eight* years after the issuing of their great document.

I have yet to learn that Dr. Baxter changed his views on the subject of slavery. At least, no quotation of his sentiments by

2. You add: "Nor will it avail to show that *emancipation has a bearing upon the well-being of a people —even their spiritual well-being.*" I am truly glad to obtain from Dr. Armstrong this incidental and gratuitous admission, that emancipation really has a bearing upon the best interests of the human family. I thank my good brother for it; although he immediately attempts to nullify it by the declaration that "commerce, railways, agriculture, manufactures," etc., which also promote the welfare of society, cannot, simply on that account, become the subjects of ecclesiastical concern. Our Foreign Missionary Board might certainly build or charter a vessel, if necessary; and it actually sends out printers to work presses, farmers to till the soil, and physicians to minister to bodily health. On the same principle, it might send out "bells" for the mission churches, or even cast them in "foundries," if bells were of sufficient importance, and could not be otherwise obtained. But the principle on which the Church testifies in favour of emancipation is, that it is a moral duty to set slaves free, when prepared in God's providence for freedom; and if the performance of a moral duty has "a bearing upon the well-being of a people," must it therefore be set aside?

Dr. Armstrong proves it. I have sought in vain for a copy of Dr. Baxter's pamphlet. Will any friend present a copy to the Presbyterian Historical Society? — C. V. R.

3. You also state that it will avail nothing in this argument, unless I can show that *you "place emancipation in the wrong category, or that the Church has a right to meddle with politics."* This is going over ground already discussed. Let me say, again, that the exhortation of the Church to keep emancipation as an end in view, does not prescribe either the mode or the time of emancipation, and does not in any way come in conflict with the State; and the Church does not "meddle with politics," when she concerns herself about moral duties. If it be a moral duty for a Christian to elevate his slaves and to set them free, when prepared for freedom, the Church has a right to make that declaration, provided she thinks it fairly deducible from the spirit, principles, and precepts of the word of God.

SECTION V. — A NEW QUESTION! POLITICS. SCHEMES OF EMANCIPATION. COLONIZATION, ETC.

The largest part of your Rejoinder is taken up with new matter, which is foreign to the discussion of "Emancipation and the Church," and which, according to law, is irrevalent in a rejoinder, the nature of which is an answer to a previous Replication. I regret that you have *insisted* upon opening this new field of discussion; but, believing that your remarks leave wrong impressions upon the mind of the reader, I shall take advantage of the occasion to throw out suggestions from a different stand-point.

SECTION VI. — POPULAR ERRORS.

I propose, without finding fault with some of the popular errors on your list, to add to their number. I do this, in order to present additional and true elements which belong to the solution of this intricate and difficult problem.

I. It is a mistake to suppose that *the slaves have not a natural desire for freedom*, however erroneous may be their views of freedom. There are certain natural impulses which belong to man, by the constitution of his being. No slavery can quench the aspirings for liberty. In the language of the late Gov. McDowell, one of your old fellow-citizens, at Lexington, and one of Virginia's noblest sons: "Sir, you may place the slave where you please; you may dry up to your uttermost the fountains of his feelings, the springs of his thought; you may close upon his mind every avenue of knowledge, and cloud it over with artificial night; you may yoke him to your labours as the ox which liveth only to work, and worketh only to live; you may put him under any process, which, without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush him as a rational being; you may do this, and the idea that he was born to be free will survive it all. It is allied to his hope of immortality — it is the ethereal part of his nature, which oppression cannot rend. It is a torch lit up in his

soul by the hand of the Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man."

If the desire of the slaves for freedom be not as intelligent as it might be, the excuse lies partly in the want of opportunities to acquire higher knowledge, and partly in the bad example of idleness set by the free blacks and by the whites. And if the privilege of liberty were granted in society only to those who entertained entirely correct views of its nature, how many thousands of free citizens in this, and in all lands, ought to be reduced to slavery? It deserves to be remarked in all candour, and without disparagement, that there is danger of the prevalence, in a slaveholding community, of an unintelligent estimate of the value of future liberty to the slaves.

II. It is a mistake to suppose that *slaves possess no natural rights.* Their present incapacity to "exercise beneficially these rights" does not destroy the title to them, but only suspends it. In the meantime, the slaves possess the correlative right of *being made prepared* for the equal privileges of the whole family of man.

Your remark that slavery secures to the slaves the right to labour in a better way "than it is secured to a more elevated race of labourers in Europe, under any of the systems which prevail among the civilized nations of the Old World," will hardly be received

by autocrats and despots as a plea for reviving slavery on the continent. Indeed, the new Emperor, Alexander, of Russia, is engaged, at this very time, in the great work of doing homage to Christian civilization by emancipating all the serfs of the empire.

III. Another error consists in regarding the Africans *as an inferior race, fit only to be slaves.* Infidelity, as you are aware, has been active at the South in inducing the belief that the negro belongs to an inferior, if not a distinct race. This doctrine is the only foundation of perpetual slavery.[1] It is alike hostile to emancipation and injurious to all efforts to elevate the negro to his true position as a fellow-man and an immortal. The slaves belong to Adam's race; are by nature under the wrath and curse, even as others; subjects of the same promises; partakers of the same blessings in Jesus Christ, and heirs of the same eternal inheritance. How the last great day will dissipate unscriptural and inhuman prejudices against these children of the common brotherhood!

IV. It is an error to suppose that *slavery is not responsible for suffering, vice, and crime, prevalent under*

[1] This defence of perpetual slavery is as old as Aristotle. That philosopher, wishing to establish some plausible plea for slavery, says: "*The barbarians are of a different race from us, and were born to be slaves to the Greeks.*" To use the language of chess, this doctrine is "Aristotle's opening"

its dominion. Even were the slaves, if set free, to degenerate into a lower condition, slavery cannot escape from the responsibility of being an abettor of many injuries and evils. Much of the vice and crime of the manufacturing districts of England is undoubtedly owing to that system of labour, which thus becomes responsible for it. According to your theory, it would seem that no system of social or political despotism is accountable for the darkness and degradation of the people. It is sin that causes all the maladies of slavery! But is there no connection between slavery and sin, as demonstrated by the experience of ages? Is slavery a system so innocent as to cast off the obligation to answer for all the suffering and wickedness that have been perpetrated under its connivance? Far be it from me to deny whatever good has been accomplished, in divine Providence, through human bondage. God brings good out of evil; but I cannot shut my eyes to the conviction that slavery is directly responsible to God for a large amount of iniquity, both among the whites and the blacks, which, like a dark cloud, is rolling its way to the judgment.

V. It is an error to suppose that *the African slave-trade ought to be revived.* Among all the popular errors of the day, this is the most mischievous and wicked. God denounces the traffic in human flesh and blood. It has the taint of murder. Our national

legislation righteously classes it with piracy, and condemns its abettors to the gallows. And yet, in Conventions and Legislatures of a number of the slaveholding States, the revival of the African slave-trade meets with favour. This fact is an ominous proof of the demoralization of public sentiment, under the influence and operation of a system of slavery.

VI. Another error is, that *slavery is a permanent institution*. Slavery in the United States must come to an end. Christianity is arraying the public opinion of the world against it. The religion of Jesus Christ never has, and never can countenance the perpetuity of human bondage. The very soil of the planting States, which is growing poorer and poorer every year, refuses to support slavery in the long run. Its impoverished fields are not often renovated, and the system must in time die the death of its own sluggish doom. Besides, the competition of free labour must add to the embarrassments of slavery. Even Africa herself may yet contend with the slave productions of America, in the market of the world.

In short, slavery is compelled to extinction by the operation of natural laws in the providence of the ever-living God — which laws act in concert with the spirit and principles of his illuminating word.

VII. Another popular delusion is, that *slavery will always be a safe system*. Thus far, the African race has exhibited extraordinary docility. Will this sub-

mission endure forever? God grant that it may! But who, that has a knowledge of human nature, does not tremble in view of future insurrections, under the newly devised provocations of reviving the slave-trade, banishing the free blacks from the soil, and prohibiting emancipation? Granting that insurrections will be always suppressed in the end, yet what terrific scenes of slaughter may they enact on a small scale; what terror will they carry into thousands of households; and what hatred and enmity will they provoke between the two races! The future of slavery in America will present, in all probability, a dark and gloomy history, unless our beloved brethren exert themselves, in season, to arrest its progress, and to provide for its extinction.

The prevalent sentiment in Virginia, in 1832, was thus uttered in the Legislature by *Mr. Chandler, of Norfolk:* "It is admitted by all who have addressed this house, that slavery is a curse, and an increasing one. That it has been destructive to the lives of our citizens, history, with unerring truth, will record. That its future increase will create commotion, cannot be doubted."

VIII. Another mistake is, that *nothing can be done for the removal of slavery.* Elevation is the grand demand of any, and every, scheme of emancipation. Can nothing more be done for the intellectual and moral elevation of the slaves? Much is, indeed, already in

process of accomplishment; but this work is left rather to individual Christian exertion, than to the benevolent operation of public laws. The laws generally discourage education, and thus disown the necessity of enlarged measures for intellectual improvement. If it be said that education and slavery are inconsistent with each other, the excuse is proof of the natural tendency of the system to degradation. Who will deny, however, that a great deal more might be done to prepare the slaves for freedom by private effort and by public legislation? Can it be doubted that measures, favouring prospective emancipation, might be wisely introduced into many of the Slave States? If there were, first, a willing mind, could there not be found, next, a practicable way? PHILIP A. BOLLING, of Buckingham, declared in the Virginia Legislature, in 1832: "The day is fast approaching, when those who oppose all action on this subject, and instead of aiding in devising some feasible plan for freeing their country from an acknowledged curse, cry '*impossible*' to every plan suggested, will curse their perverseness and lament their folly." This is strong language. It comes from one of the public men of your own State, and is adapted to awaken thought.

IX. The last popular error I shall specify, is, that *none of the slaves are now prepared for freedom.* Whilst I am opposed to a scheme of immediate and

universal emancipation, for reasons that need not be stated, I suppose that a large number of slaves are capable of rising at once to the responsibilities of freedom, under favouring circumstances, for example, in Liberia. Probably Norfolk itself could furnish scores of such persons, or, to keep within bounds, one score. There must be thousands throughout the plantations of the South, who are, in a good degree, prepared to act well their part in free and congenial communities. Such a representation honours the civilizing power of slavery, and has an important bearing on schemes of emancipation.

SECTION VII. — SCHEMES OF EMANCIPATION.

I am now prepared to follow your example in offering some remarks on "emancipation laws."

Allow me here to repeat my regret that you have persisted in discussing this subject. First, because it is foreign to the topic of "Emancipation and the Church;" secondly, because the discussion involves speculations rather than principles; and thirdly, because no living man can, on the one side or the other, deliver very clear utterances, especially without more study than I, for one, have been able to give to the subject. Good, however, will result from an interchange of opinions. My chief motive in noticing this new part of your Rejoinder, on Emancipation, is

an unwillingness to allow your pro-slavery views to go forth in this Magazine without an answer.

You are right, I think, in supposing that the best emancipation scheme practicable would embrace the following particulars:

"(1.) A law prospective in its operation—say that all slaves born after a certain year, shall become free at the age of twenty-five.

"(2.) Provision for the instruction of those to be emancipated in the rudiments of learning.

"(3.) Provision for their transfer and comfortable settlement in Africa, when they become free."

Your *first objection* to this scheme is that, "in its practical working, it would prove, to a very large extent, a *transportation*, and not an *emancipation* law." Let us look at this objection.

1. Many owners of slaves would go with them into other States, and thus no injury would be inflicted upon the slaves, whilst the area of freedom behind them would be enlarged.

2. Many masters would make diligent and earnest efforts to prepare their slaves for freedom, on their plantations, even if other masters sold their slaves for transportation.

3. If some, or many, of the masters were to sell their slaves, it would be doing no more than is done in Virginia, at the present time. The number of

Virginia slaves transported annually into other States, has been estimated as high as fifty thousand.

4. A compensation clause might be attached to the plan we are considering, with a prohibition against transportation.

5. The objection is founded upon the supposition that only some of the States adopted the emancipation scheme. The objection would also be diminished in force, in proportion to the number of States adopting the scheme, because the supply of slaves may become greater than the demand.

6. Some evils, necessarily attendant upon general schemes of emancipation, are more than counterbalanced by the greater good accomplished. If Delaware, Maryland, VIRGINIA, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, were to adopt a scheme of prospective emancipation,[1] the general advantage to those States, in a social, moral, intellectual, and economical point of view, would more than counterbalance the inherent and minor evils incident to the scheme. The addition of six new States to the area of freedom would probably outweigh all the trials incident to the transition period.

An emancipation scheme, similar to that propounded, was tested in the Northern States, where it succeeded well; and you could not have appealed to a better illustration of its wisdom. The number

[1] Ought not such a scheme to *begin* with these States?

of slaves transported could not have been very great, because the whole number in New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, was only about 40,000 in the year 1790, when these schemes were generally commenced, and the number of Africans in those States was more than double at the next census.

On the whole, a prospective emancipation scheme, with or without a compensation or prohibitory clause, would, in the States named, do more, in the end, in behalf of the African race and the cause of freedom, than the inactive policy of doing nothing.

Objection 2d. You object to the plan, "on the ground that the slave race cannot be prepared for freedom by any short course of education, such as that proposed."

1. Suppose that the Legislature of Virginia should enact that all slaves born after 1870, shall become free at the age of twenty-five. The course of education would be precisely as long as the process of nature allows. It would embrace *the whole of the training period of an entire generation;* and with the intellectual and moral resources already in possession of the African race in Virginia, a general and faithful effort to elevate the young would result, under God, in a substantial advancement of condition, auguring well for freedom.

2. Your own experiment with the two slaves is just

in point. It shows how much can be done, on a small scale, and if so, on a larger scale. These slaves were taught to read and write; they were fitted for freedom at the age of thirty-two; and they were then set free, as "good colonists for Liberia." Although they did not ultimately go to Liberia, perhaps their addition "to the number of free negroes in Virginia," was esteemed by them a higher benefit than it seems to you. They were, at any rate, qualified for freedom in Liberia.

3. To the idea that all the emancipated slaves ought to be "compelled to go to Liberia," you present three difficulties. (1.) "It is in vain to expect to make good citizens for Liberia, by sending them there against their will, like convicts to a penal colony." I reply, that Liberia is becoming to the African race more and more an object of desire; that there is no more compulsion in the case than their own best interests demand, as persons who, up to that period, are in the state of minors; that the prospect of liberty in Liberia is very different from that of penal labour and suffering by convicts; and that, if your remark be true, that it is vain to expect to make "good citizens for Liberia, by sending them against their will," is it not equally vain to expect to make good citizens of slaves by keeping them in slavery "against their will?" (2.) You say that we deceive ourselves in speaking of Africa as "their native country," "their

home." I reply that the race-mark indelibly identifies the slaves with Africa; that their own traditions connect them with their fatherland; that the decisions of the United States Supreme Court deny them to be "citizens" of this country; and that their own affections are becoming stronger and stronger in favour of returning to Africa, as their minds become enlightened. (3.) Another obstacle to "compulsory expatriation," in your judgment, is, that it would "sunder ties both of family and affection." I reply, not necessarily either the one or the other, as a general rule. On the supposition of a compensation law, which is the true principle, there would be no sundering of family ties: and as to ties of affection for their masters or friends left behind, every emigrant to our Western States expects to bear them. Besides, instead of a "compulsory expatriation," it would be virtually a voluntary return to the land of their fathers.

Objection 3d. Your third objection to the proposed gradual emancipation scheme is, that you "do not see the least prospect of Liberia being able to do the part assigned to it in this plan for a long time to come." This is the objection of greatest weight.

SECTION VIII. — LIBERIAN COLONIZATION.

You will agree with me, if I mistake not, in three particulars:

1. African colonization is a scheme, founded in wise and far-reaching views of African character and destiny. The coloured race can never attain to social and political elevation in the United States. The experience of the past is a demonstration against the continuance of the two races in this country on terms favourable to the negroes; and there is reason to believe that the future will be a period of increased disadvantage and hardship. The colonization of the coloured people in Africa is, therefore, in its conception, a scheme of profound wisdom and true benevolence.

2. You will also agree with me in the opinion that the measures for Liberian Colonization may be *indefinitely extended*. Territory, larger than the Atlantic slope, may be procured in the interior of Africa; money enough may be obtained from the sale of the public lands, or from other national resources; vessels are already on hand to meet the demands of the largest transportation; and emigrants, of a hopeful character, and in large numbers, may be expected to present themselves, at the indicated time, in the providence of God. There are no limits to the plan of Liberian Colonization. Your own faith in its ultimate capabilities, seems to be shaded with doubt. only in reference to the question of *time*.

3. Further. You will agree with me in the opinion that *much more might be done, at once,* in the actual

working of the Liberian scheme. Among the coloured population in this country are large numbers, both bond and free, who are superior to the average class of emigrants already sent out.

SECTION IX. — WHICH CLASS SHOULD BE SENT FIRST, THE FREE, OR THE SLAVES.

In your judgment, we ought "to adhere to the course marked out by the founders of the Colonization Society, and attend first to the free people of colour; and only after our work here has been done, ought we to think of resorting to colonization as an adjunct to emancipation."

1. The discussion of this issue is outside even of the new theme; because the plan of emancipation, proposed by yourself, *assumes* the colonization of the slaves as one of its main features. I submit that it is not in order to deny your own admissions.

2. The colonization of slaves, when set free, is precisely in accordance with the constitution of the American Colonization Society. And the Society has been acting upon this principle from the beginning. The majority of emigrants belong to the class that were once slaves, and who have been made free with the object of removal to Africa, as colonists.

3. I see no reason why the sympathy of philanthropy should be first concentrated upon the free blacks. This class of our population are, indeed, en-

titled to our warm interest and our Christian exertions to promote their welfare; but why to an exclusive and partial benevolence? If you reply, as you do, because "the condition of the free people of colour is worse than that of our slaves," then I beg leave to call in question the statement, and to invalidate it, in part, by your own declaration, that at least fifty thousand of the free blacks are more intelligent and better prepared for colonization than can be found among the slaves. When the exigency of the argument requires you to sustain slavery, you depreciate the free blacks and make them "lower than the slaves;" but when colonization demands the best quality of emigrants, then you depreciate the slaves and point to "fifty thousand" free blacks, who are superior to slaves.

4. I might assign many reasons why, if Liberian colonization be a benevolent scheme, the race in slavery ought not to be excluded from its benefits. But, this point being assumed, as I have stated, an axiom of our problem, it is unnecessary to establish it by argument.

5. Let us compromise this issue on a principle of Christian equity, viz.: *simultaneous* efforts should be made to colonize the blacks who are already free, and those who may be set free for that purpose. You will not deny that there are hundreds and thousands of Christian slaves who, if emancipated, would make

good citizens of Liberia. Why, then, should the social and political elevation of these men be postponed, and the good they might do in Africa be lost, simply because there are free people of colour in the land, who are also proper subjects of colonization?

SECTION X.—WHAT THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY HAS DONE.

Before the establishment of the Republic of Liberia, the future of the African race, in this country, was dreary and almost without hope. The mind of the philanthropist had no resting-place for its anxious thoughts; the pious slaveholder lived in faith, without the suggestion of any effectual remedy; and the negro race in America seemed doomed to labour for generations, and then sink away or perish. In God's good time, a Republic springs up in the Eastern world! It is an African Republic; and composed mainly of those who once were slaves in America.—What an event in the history of civilization! Even in this last half century of wonders, it stands out in the greatness of moral and political pre-eminence.

For some account of the results of African Colonization, I refer you to my Address at the opening of the Ashmun Institute, entitled, "GOD GLORIFIED BY AFRICA." It is sufficient here to say that the Liberian Republic, with its institutions of freedom, contains about 10,000 emigrants from America, of whom

6000 were once Southern slaves. Its schools, academies, and churches; its growing commerce, improving agriculture, and intelligent legislation; its favourable location, Protestantism, and Anglo-Saxon speech: all conspire to demonstrate the truth of the principles on which it was founded, and to develop a national prosperity rarely equalled in the history of colonization.

In short, the Liberian Republic is a *good work, well done*, LAUS DEO!

SECTION XI. — WHAT MAY BE REASONABLY EXPECTED OF LIBERIA.

Let us be hopeful. Cheer up, brother Armstrong! Ethiopia is yet to stretch out her hands unto God. An eminent Southern divine has well said, "I acknowledge the duty, which rests upon all, to hope great things, and attempt great things, and look with holy anxiety at the signs of the times."

I. Let us *hope* great things. "Hope, that is seen, is not hope;" and I may add, without irreverence, hope, that will not see, is not hope. Your views about the permanence of slavery prevent the access to your mind of large hopes from the Liberian scheme. In your Letters and Rejoinders, you several times express doubt whether slavery in the United States is ever to end! Nor does it seem to you very desirable that it should end.

II. The people of God should *attempt* great things for the African race. Prosperity has attended African colonization thus far; and under circumstances to stimulate to more active and extended efforts.

Assimilation. The great obstacle is, as you state, "the difficulty in assimilating such an immigration as we are able to send" to Liberia.

The fact of an "indiscriminate immigration," composed chiefly of slaves, accomplishing so much in Liberia, is very encouraging in regard to the possibility of success on a larger scale.

The emigrants to be sent out by the scheme of emancipation under review, would be of a higher character than the class already there. One of the features of this plan involves "provision for the *instruction* of those to be emancipated in the rudiments of learning." Education is, under God, a mighty elevator. The question, whether a people shall be raised up in the scale of intelligence, or be allowed to remain unlettered and in gross ignorance, decides the destiny of nations. It will certainly decide the destiny of African colonization. The proposed plan contemplates a long interval of preparation, an interval of *thirty-seven years*, during which time a new generation is to come forward under a full system of "Christian appliances." A very different class of emigrants will, therefore, be made ready for colonization. Nor is it chimerical to suppose that great ele-

vation of character would attend measures for the instruction of the young slaves, under the kindly intercourse, supervision, and example of one and a quarter millions of white members of the Church of Christ, and twelve thousand ministers of the Gospel.[1] These emigrants, thus prepared for freedom, would be prepared for assimilation.

The difficulty of foreign immigration to this country is in its diversity and irreligion. Speaking foreign tongues, trained to different habits and customs, debased by Roman superstition, or corrupted by German infidelity, the mass of our immigrants are far more difficult to fuse into our existing population than would be the Africans *into their own race* at Liberia. In the case of colonization in Liberia, the population would be homogeneous, of a more intelligent order than the original population, and under the influences of the Christian religion.

African character is improving in Liberia. Instead of deteriorating, as when in contact with the white race, it is now gaining admiration in the political world. What has been wanting to raise the negro character is education, the habit of self-reliance, and a fair opportunity for development on a field of its own, unhindered by contact with the white race.— An illustration of the elevating power of a removal

[1] This is the best estimate I can make of the number of white communicants and ministers in the Southern churches.

to a congenial field, is seen in the case of thousands of impoverished whites in the slaveholding States. This class, doomed to poverty, and often to degradation, by the law of slavery, rise to influence, wealth, and importance, when they emigrate to new States. A similar influence will bless the negro race, when separated from contaminating influences, and disciplined to bear its part among the governments of the world.

In Liberia, new communities would be formed, and settlements established in different parts of the extending republic, to meet the demands of emigration. "Assimilation" is easier under circumstances of diffusion than of aggregation. As, in our own country, the facility of acquiring land in the new Territories and States, promotes the welfare of the emigrants, and fixes them in homes comparatively remote from cities and overgrown districts, so the Liberian scheme proposes to establish its large accessions of emigrants in independent and separate communities, increasing in number with the demand for enlargement.

The "deep-rooted *distrust* of the capacity of their own people for safely conducting the affairs of government" need give a friend of colonization no concern whatever. The race in this country has never had the opportunity of proving its capacity to take charge of public interests. The only experiment hitherto made has been successful. The government of Liberia is administered with as much skill as that of most

of the States in our Union, and the republic is growing in importance among the nations of the earth. The Africans will learn soon enough to put confidence in Liberia, and to prefer their own administration to that of any other people in America.

Your "*rule of three*" will hardly work in reference to the developments of God's providence. "If, now, it has taken thirty-four years to place a colony of ten thousand on the coast of Africa, when can we reasonably calculate that our work will be done" with hundreds of thousands? Verily, by the Armstrong rule, no calculation would be "reasonable." Virginia herself could be ciphered out of her present civilization and glory, by writing down, for the basis of the problem, the original Jamestown efforts at colonization. The "rule of three," irrelevant as it has always been, will become less and less geometrical, "as ye see the day approaching." How will it work when "nations are born in a day?"

It must be admitted that, although the rule is unfair in such a discussion, no human sagacity can scan the problem of African colonization. It is certain, however, that many of our wisest men regard colonization as the most hopeful adjunct to emancipation. On the question of time, there is room for difference of opinion; and so there is, indeed, on all points. The late Dr. ALEXANDER, than whom no man stood higher in Virginia for wisdom and far-reaching views,

thus sums up his views of the capacity of Liberia to receive the coloured race of America: "If Liberia should continue to flourish and increase, it is *not so improbable*, as many suppose, that the *greater part* of the African race, now in this country, will, in the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, be restored to the country of their fathers." Some of our most distinguished political characters have expressed the same opinion.[1]

There are various providential aspects, which encourage large expectations from Liberian colonization, in its connection with the removal of American slavery, and which serve to show that an emancipation movement, of some kind, cannot be far off.

III. Besides hoping great things, and attempting great things, we should "look with holy anxiety at THE SIGNS OF THE TIMES." Providence is a quickening instructor.

1. One of the signs of the times is, *the general sentiment of the civilized world* in favour of measures of emancipation. Slavery has existed in the United

[1] An enlightened advocate of colonization, as an adjunct to emancipation, need not maintain that the *whole* African race in this country must go to Liberia. Many of them will probably remain behind in this country, to struggle with adversity, and perhaps at last to die away. Dr. Alexander's language goes as far as is necessary to meet the case. "*The greater part* of the African race" will probably be restored to Africa.

States for two centuries, during which period it has been overruled, in many ways, for great good to the slaves. But can it long survive the pressure of public sentiment at home and abroad? When all Christian and civilized nations are opposed to its continuance, must it not, before long, adopt some active measures tending to its abolition?

2. Another sign of the times is, the demonstration of *African capability*, made by the Republic of Liberia. The light of this Republic spreads far into the future. It illuminates the vista of distant years, and cheers the heart of philanthropy with the sight of a great and rising nation. The moral power of the successful enterprise on the shores of Africa, is like the voice of God speaking to the children of Israel to "go forward."

3. *The exploration of Africa*, just at this period of her history, is another cheering sign for colonization. Preparations for a great work are going on for that dark continent. Whatever develops Africa's resources, is a token of good to her descendants everywhere. Elevate the continent, and the race is free. These explorations will serve, in part, to satisfy the public mind in reference to the healthfulness and fertility of the country, back from the sea, and its adaptation to all the purposes of colonization.

4. Another sign of approaching crisis, favourable to some important results, is in the *South* itself. After

a long period of repose, it presents tokens of internal divisions, of excitement, and of extreme measures. The revival of the African slave-trade, which is a popular plan in six States, bids defiance to God and nations. The preparations, commenced in Maryland and elsewhere, to drive out the free blacks or reduce them to slavery; the movement to prohibit emancipation by legislative enactment; the laws against the instruction of the slaves; all the recent political advances of slavery, including the judicial decision denying the rights of citizenship to free blacks, and carrying slavery into the national territories; and especially the lowering of the tone of public sentiment on the whole subject of slavery and emancipation, to which even ministers have contributed: all this has the appearance of an impending crisis, and points to some great result in Divine Providence, in spite of all the opposition of man; yea, and by means of it!

5. The times magnify *Colonization as an instrument of civilization.* Behold the new States on the shores of the Pacific, and the rising kingdoms in Australia. Behold the millions who have peopled our own Western States. Colonization has never before displayed such power, or won triumphs so extensive and rapid. Nor has the black man ever attained such dignity as by emigrating to Africa. Colonization is one of the selected agencies of God to promote the civilization of the human race.

6. It also seems clear that God had some *special purpose of grace and goodness* to accomplish with the slave race, on a large scale. The Africans have been torn from their homes, brought to a land of liberty and religion, civilized and elevated here, to a good degree, and yet, when set free in the land, disowned as citizens, and subjected to a social and political condition, so disparaging as to preclude the hope of fulfilling their mission in America. Everything points to Africa as the field of their highest cultivation and usefulness.

7. The concurring providences of God throughout the earth are harbingers of *the times of renovation and of millennial glory.* The fulfilment of prophecy is at hand. Progress and revolution mark the age. The end is not distant, when "He, whose right it is, shall reign;" and "Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God."

With signs like these flashing across the heavens, it is no time for the watchers of the African sky to sleep at their observatories; much less, if they are awake, is it a time to doubt. Providence calls upon the friends of the race to hope great things, and to attempt great things. It points to Liberian Colonization as the most hopeful scheme ever devised for the elevation of Africa's degraded children, and for their emancipation from the long American bondage. Work, and see! Trust, and try!

SECTION XII. — EFFECTS OF ENTERTAINING THIS EMANCIPATION SCHEME.

In your judgment, the discussion of emancipation is calculated to "do harm." Why, then, did my good brother introduce the question, and in a form that seemed to demand an answer? The whole discussion is evidently foreign from the original issues between us, as most readers readily see.

For myself, I do not believe, that a calm and Christian discussion of this vast social and political question will do any injury at all. It needs investigation. It requires it before God and man. The interests of the white race and of the black race, the welfare of the present and succeeding generations, conscience, political economy, safety, the public opinion of the civilized world, religion, Providence, — all invite serious attention to the question of emancipation. And why should a rational discussion interfere with "the religious instruction and gradual elevation of the African race?" Its natural effect, one would think, would be to stimulate effort in this very direction, at least with Christian and sober-minded people.

The Free States have, unquestionably, been remiss in their duties to the free coloured population. I confess, with shame, this neglect and injustice. Human nature is the same everywhere. The free blacks have, however, many privileges. They have

access to public schools; they have churches in abundance; and if they could enjoy social equality, they would long ago have been "assimilated" in our communities. You ask, "Are you colonizing them in Africa?" I reply, that hitherto they have refused to go, notwithstanding the most earnest and persevering expostulations. The same class of fanatics who have urged immediate and universal emancipation at the South, have decried colonization at the North, and successfully resisted its claims among the free people of colour. There are evidences that a change of opinion is now silently making progress among them in favour of colonization. May God help us to do more in their behalf, and to roll away the reproach, of which you faithfully remind us, and for doing which I give you my thanks.

SECTION XIII. — THE WORK AND THE WAY.

There is no difference of opinion between us about the work and the way, although I believe that we ought to keep the end in view, as well as apply the means. Why work in the dark? The great obligation is the improvement of the slaves, their intellectual and moral elevation. The slaves, in my judgment, and, I suppose, in yours, ought to be taught the rudiments of learning. Our missionaries to the heathen place Christian schools among the effective instrumentalities of promoting religion and every

good result. What can be gained by keeping the slaves in ignorance, it is difficult to conjecture. Ought not the Bible to be placed in their hands, in order that they may "search the Scriptures," and possess the opportunity of a more complete improvement of their rational powers? A committee, in their report to the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, in 1833, state: "The proportion that read is infinitely small; and the Bible, so far as they can read it for themselves, is, to all intents, a sealed book." Since 1833, progress may have been made in the instruction of the slaves in the rudiments of knowledge. And yet, in view of the fact that several of the States, including Virginia, have, within this period, passed stringent laws prohibiting the slaves from being taught to read, it is difficult to ascertain the nature and extent of this progress, if indeed there be any. In some States, I fear there has been an interposition that leads to retrogradation.

You are right in saying that the most effectual way of promoting emancipation is "through the agency of a gradually ameliorating slavery, the amelioration taking place as the slaves are prepared to profit by it." What strikes a stranger, at the present time, is that the laws have, of late years, become more harsh, especially in the matter of instruction, than ever before. An "ameliorating slavery" would naturally *extend* the educational and general privileges of the

slaves. Has there ever been any public legislative action having in view the enlightenment of the slaves? Might not Christian citizens accomplish much more in ameliorating the code, by enlarging the privileges of the slaves in conformity with the recommendations of Mr. Nott?

The remedial suggestions of Mr. Nott, understood to be received with favour by a number of gentlemen at the South, are of much value. If generally adopted, the work of amelioration would be carried forward with an increase of power altogether unknown in the annals of slave civilization. Among his admirable suggestions, which are generally elaborated with much good sense, are the following: "There may be supposed admissible in the progress of amelioration, first, some extension of franchises to those remaining slaves; and secondly, an opportunity of full emancipation to such as may choose it: thus giving to all some share in providing for their social well-being, and opening the path for individual progress and advancement."

An ameliorating system is the only, and the safest, way to emancipation; and in such a system, religious and moral instruction is the strongest element. The plan of emancipation we have been considering could have no prospect of a successful issue, unless, in the course of thirty years, a great advance could be made, under God, in the intellectual and social condition of

the slaves. The intermediate work is Christian elevation; after that, emancipation.

I am far from undervaluing the general tendency of Southern civilization towards the improvement of the slaves. Great credit belongs to those of our self-denying brethren who have made special efforts in their own households and on neighbouring plantations. Let this work go on, and thousands of slaves will be prepared for freedom, in Liberia, in the course of another generation. This is the work, and this is the way!

SECTION XIV. — THE CHURCH AND ADVISORY TESTIMONY.

After this long digression, of your own seeking, I return to the original topic of the relation of the Church to emancipation. The Church has a right to *enjoin* the performance of all the relative duties specified in the Scriptures, and to give general *counsel*, or *testimony*, in regard to the termination of the relation itself, as a moral and lawful end.

Why a right to give counsel? Because, as I have attempted to show, the relation being abnormal and exceptional, its ultimate dissolution is fairly inferred, as a moral duty, from the general spirit and principles of the word of God. So far as the dissolution of the relation requires the action of the State, the Church has no right to meddle with it in any form, either as to the plan, or the time. The Church has

simply the right to advise and urge her members to prepare their slaves for freedom, as soon as Providence shall open the way for it.

Why may not the Church *enjoin* emancipation? Because slaveholding being right or wrong, according to circumstances, the Church can neither give a specific rule of permanent and universal obligation, nor can it take cognizance of the circumstances of each particular case, which must be adjudicated by the mind and conscience of each individual, under his responsibility to God.

The Church, therefore, whilst it cannot prescribe political measures of emancipation, or the time of emancipation, has a perfect right to say to its members, as our General Assembly did, in 1818:

"We earnestly exhort them to *continue, and, if possible, to increase* their exertions to effect a total abolition of slavery. We exhort them to suffer no greater delay to take place in this most interesting concern, than a regard to the public welfare truly and indispensably demands."

"And we, at the same time, exhort others to *forbear harsh censures*, and uncharitable reflections on their brethren, who unhappily live among slaves, whom they cannot immediately set free; but who are *really using all of their influence and all their endeavours* to bring them into a state of freedom, *as soon as a door for it can be safely opened.*"

Or, as the Synod of Virginia declared in 1802:

"We consider it the indispensable duty of all who hold slaves, to *prepare, by a suitable education, the young among them for a state of freedom, and to liberate them as soon as they shall appear to be duly qualified for that high privilege.*"

In thus maintaining the right of the Church to give advisory testimony, there is scarcely need to add, that the Church is bound to proceed with the wisdom which should ever characterize a court of the Lord Jesus Christ.

SECTION XV. — THE THIRD LETTER. HISTORY OF ANTI-SLAVERY OPINIONS.

1. I do not conceive that my third letter was based upon the slightest misapprehension. The whole strain of Bishop Hopkins's apology for slavery implies, like your own, that the institution may lawfully exist among a people, forever, without any concern. This I do not believe; and this the Christian Church has not believed, either in earlier or later times. I protest against such doctrine, in however guarded language it may be expressed or concealed.

In the time of Chrysostom, who flourished after Constantine, about A. D. 400, emancipation was encouraged throughout the Empire; more so than my brother Armstrong seems to encourage it now, in the interval of fourteen centuries. There is no reason to infer from Chrysostom's fanciful interpretation of 1 Cor. 7 : 21, that he was an advocate of the perpetuity of slavery. In some respects, that distant age was in advance of our own.

2. You think that in two instances I confound things that differ. (1.) But I did not understand

you as saying that the Christian anti-slavery philanthropists of England were infidels, but simply that they acted *quoad hoc* on infidel principles. I proved that their principles were not those of infidelity; that such an idea was preposterous.[1] (2.) Nor did I confound slaveholding with the African slave-trade. The paragraphs from Mr. Bancroft's history embraced both subjects, so that one could not be well separated from the other. Besides, the traffic and the system sustain a close relation to each other. The abettors of perpetual slavery are always prone to defend the slave-trade, as is lamentably witnessed at the present time, in the extreme South.

SECTION XVI. — CONCLUDING REMARKS.

On reviewing our respective positions on this interesting question, I am confirmed in the correctness of those with which I set out, viz.: that "slaveholding is right or wrong, according to circumstances;" that the General Assembly had a right to exhort the members of the Church to prepare their slaves for freedom whenever Providence should open the door for it; that the history of anti-slavery opinions shows that the Church has never regarded slavery as an institu-

[1] HOBBES, one of the leaders of infidelity, maintained that every man being by nature at war with every man, the one has a perpetual right to reduce the other to servitude, when he can accomplish the end.

tion to be perpetuated; that it is wise for us, as *citizens*, to examine the question of emancipation in all its bearings; and that the border States, if no others, might advantageously commence the work speedily, on the plan of a prospective scheme, with Liberian colonization as its adjunct.

On the other hand, if I do not misunderstand you, you have taken the following positions: 1. "Slaveholding is not a sin in the sight of God." 2. The Church has no right even to advise her members to elevate their slaves with a view to their freedom, and that the testimonies of the General Assembly, down to 1845, were wrong, and ought never to have been uttered. 3. Slaveholding has always existed in the Church without any reproach, from the earliest times, until Christian philanthropy, adopting the principles of Infidelity, has lately agitated the matter. 4. It is expedient to do nothing in the way of emancipation at present, *if*, indeed, the slaves are ever to be free; and the South had better not send any more slaves to Liberia until the North has sent its free blacks.

By the expression of these sentiments, I fear that, without intending it, you have lowered the tone of public sentiment wherever your influence extends, and have impaired the obligations of conscientious Christians on this great subject. John Randolph declared in Congress: "Sir, I envy not the heart nor

the head of that man from the North, who rises here to defend slavery from principle." This remark has no direct application, of course, to yourself; but many readers, I fear, will claim, in your behalf, the credit of doing the very thing that John Randolph denounced.

I agree with you about the evils of the course of the fanatical abolitionists; and not any more than yourself do I desire to unite my honour with their assembly.[1]

I stand upon the good old ground, occupied by the Presbyterian Church from time immemorial. Believing it to be scriptural ground, I have endeavoured to defend it; and shall, by God's grace, continue to defend it on all fit occasions, against extreme views either at the North or at the South. I further believe that my beloved brethren at the South occupy, in the main, the same conservative position, — a position which has enabled our Church to maintain her scriptural character and her integrity. I do not ex-

[1] Notwithstanding Dr. Armstrong's strong condemnation of the abolitionists, he practically, but unintentionally, adopts two of their leading principles. 1. He discourages, at least for a long period, the emancipation of slaves, with a view of sending them to Liberia. So far as this generation is concerned, Dr. Armstrong and the abolitionists are, on this point, at unity.— 2. He maintains that Africa ought not to be regarded as the country and home of the coloured race; but that America is as much their home as it is his or mine. This is a favourite and fundamental principle of the abolitionists, from which *they* argue emancipation *upon the soil.*

pect that my brethren, either at the North or South, will agree with me in all the side issues about plans of emancipation, which you have thrown into the argument without any logical authority, and to which I have replied according to the best light given me.

Praying for spiritual blessings upon Africa and her descendants, and that the cause of truth, liberty, and righteousness may prevail from shore to shore,

I am yours, fraternally,

C. Van Rensselaer.

NOTE. DR. BAXTER ON SLAVERY.

Since writing the foregoing Article, a friend has forwarded to the Presbyterian Historical Society, Dr. Baxter's pamphlet on Slavery. I have read, with great interest and satisfaction, this remarkable production of my revered theological instructor. It breathes the spirit of his great soul.

1. The principles of Dr. Baxter's pamphlet are *not at all inconsistent* with the Assembly's testimony of 1818, which he had a share in preparing and adopting. The general views are coincident with those of that immortal document, with such difference only as was naturally to be expected in looking at the subject from a different stand-point.

2. In the statement of the *doctrine of slavery*, Dr. Baxter fully agrees with me, as will be seen by the following quotations from his pamphlet:

"The relation of the master is lawful, as long as the *circumstances of the case* make slavery necessary." p. 5.

"There is no consistent ground of opposing abolition, without asserting that the relation of master is *right or wrong according to circumstances*, and that the *examination of our circumstances* is necessary to ascertain whether or not it be consistent with our duty." pp. 9, 10.

"It therefore appears plain, that the Apostle determines the relation of master to be a lawful relation. [Here Dr. Armstrong would have stopped, but Dr. Baxter adds.] I only mean that slavery is lawful, whilst *necessary*; or that it is lawful to hold slaves, whilst this is the *best thing that can be done for them*." p. 15.

"I believe that the true ground of Scripture, and of sound philosophy, as to this subject, is, that slavery is lawful in the sight of Heaven, whilst *the character of the slave makes it necessary*." p. 23.

Dr. Armstrong will see that my doctrine of *circumstances*, and nothing else, was in the mind of Dr. Baxter. This was the Assembly's doctrine of 1818. Dr. Baxter was no wiser in 1836, "eighteen years afterwards," because he was scripturally wise in 1818. I have a firmer persuasion than ever, that the great mass of my brethren at the South agree with Dr. Baxter, and not with Dr. Armstrong.

3. Dr. Baxter does not hesitate to speak out, like a man and a Christian, against the idea of the perpetuity of slavery.

"For my part, I do not believe that the system of slavery will or can be perpetual in this country." p. 16.

"Christianity in its future progress through the world, with greater power than has heretofore been witnessed, I have no doubt will banish slavery from the face of the whole earth." p. 17.

"The application of Christian principles to both master and servant, will hasten the day of general emancipation." p. 23.

Dr. Baxter uses no *ifs*, like a man afraid of his shadow, but boldly declares the common conviction of the Christian, and even political, world in regard to the desirableness and certainty of ultimate emancipation.

4. Dr. Baxter's pamphlet is specially directed against the abolition doctrine of immediate emancipation; and his object is to show that slavery can only be abolished by preparing the slaves for freedom under the influences of Christianity. I find nothing in the pamphlet on the question of Church testimony. There is no doubt, in my own mind, that he adhered to his views of 1818, on this, as on other points. God bless his memory and example! "Being dead, he yet speaketh."

THE

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY:

ITS ATTEMPT AT REVISION.

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THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY:

ITS ATTEMPT AT REVISION.

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ARTICLE I.

REPLY TO DR. VIRMILYE.[1]

My dear Sir:—Your letter furnishes a good occasion for a statement on *the other side* of the Bible question, including a notice of your severe animadversions upon the Church to which I belong.

As one of the Committee of Revision, whose acts have been called in question by a large part of the Christian community, kindness to your brethren in this discussion would seem to have been eminently wise and proper. Instead of pursuing this conciliatory course, you have inadvertently allowed yourself to bring severe accusations, in unguarded words, and apparently in not the most amiable mood. The Old School Presbyterian Church is represented as acting in a spirit of sectarian jealousy and illiberality, whilst two of the greatest men whom God has raised up in her ranks, are stigmatized as opposing the Bible Society's movement from unworthy personal and professional motives. You need scarcely, my dear sir, have said that your letter was on your "own respon-

[1] Originally published in "The Presbyterian" of October 24th, 1857.

sibility." The public generally condemn its tone; the Bible Society itself would be the first to repudiate it, if put to the test; and it is not improbable that, in the calmer moments which have followed your transient excitement, your own conscience, true to its old habits of love and right, has united in the common expression of disapprobation and sorrow.

Had not the Presbyterian Church a right to discuss so important a subject as the publication of the Scriptures? Was it not very likely, that a Church that has always been known as an unflinching champion of the truth, from the days of Knox and Melville through every period of its history, would take an interest in preserving the standard edition of the Bible unharmed from innovation? Surely, if any part of the sacramental host could have been reckoned, in advance, the opposers of novelties in the printing of the sacred oracles, and the advocates, by principle and practice, of *the Bible, as it is, and has been*, Old School Presbyterians would have been selected among the most earnest, steadfast, and uncompromising, both to do and to suffer. Why, then, my dear friend, need you have gone out of the way to impute uncharitable and ungenerous motives to lofty-minded and pure men in our Church, and indeed to our Church at large?

All denominations have a right to speak, and ought to speak, at a time like this. Presbyterians, espe-

cially, ought not to be rebuked for boldly uttering their thoughts. They had a prominent agency in establishing the American Bible Society; they have contributed a very large part of its funds, and have always taken a zealous and efficient interest in its management. Our General Assembly was bound by its hereditary conservatism, its influential position, its interest in the affairs of the Redeemer's kingdom, and its original rights in the Bible Society, to interpose its testimony against an ill-concocted, though well-meant scheme of Bible emendation. That testimony would have been fully expressed, instead of implied, at the last meeting of our Supreme Judicatory, if it had not been thought advisable to afford to the managers of the national institution the opportunity of retracing their steps, according to the strong intimations of one of the Secretaries, in his public address before our body. Judge Fine's wise and non-committal motion of postponement, and the considerate and kind speech of the venerable Dr. Hoge, alone prevented the passage of Dr. Breckinridge's searching resolutions, or, at least, of some overture condemnatory of the proposed variations. You state, with a principal allusion to the Presbyterian Church, "I expect a strong response, when I say, From all High-churchism and sectarian ambition, from all geographical brotherhood and dictatorial affection, good Lord deliver us." It will be generally thought more

desirable to exhibit the spirit of the Litany as it is, than to add new words of prayer, incongruous with the pious petitions of that Scriptural formulary. I submit to your consideration whether it would not be wise to moderate, if not altogether change, the tone of your utterance, the next time you undertake to arraign our Church before the public. The effect, I do not say the design, of your communication, has been to excite a denominational suspicion against the Presbyterian Church, in her honest opposition to the recent Bible policy. It is hoped that the Committee on Versions will hold fast to the Word of God in the oldness of the letter and the newness of the spirit.

The two great principles to which the American Bible Society ought to be made to adhere, are—First. that it shall not change the words, or alter the meaning of the existing text of the Bible, in part or in whole; and secondly, that it shall not publish notes or comments on the text, in any form whatever.

I. My first propositon is that the American Bible Society ought not to change the words, or alter the meaning, either in part or in whole, of the commonly received version. The first article of the constitution is:

"The Society shall be known by the name of the American Bible Society, of which the sole object shall be to encourage a wider circulation of the Holy Scriptures, *without note or comment.* The *only copies* in the English language to be circulated by the Society shall be *the version now in common use.*"

Does the new edition vary, to any extent, in language and in meaning, from the version now "in common use?" The question is neither whether the variations are *few* in number, nor whether they are *improvements*. They may be both; but be they more or less, one or a hundred, and of whatever character, they are unlawful, if found to exist. A single violation of the text corrupts the fundamental principle of keeping intact the commonly received version. How many words are really altered (I do not refer to mere changes in spelling, but to the substitution of different words), cannot be fully ascertained from the Committee's report. That report only gives "specimens" of alterations, and it omits one which you adduce, viz.: the article between the words John and Baptist.— Assuming that there are only two changes in words (there are at least four), I maintain that the Constitution prohibits the Society from making even one change. Where does the Society obtain the right to touch the version in the minutest word?

There are other modes, however, of altering the meaning of the version besides changing its words. "Specimens" of variation in the use of *capital letters*, as in the word Spirit, are given, wherein the Committee have decided by the use of capitals or otherwise, in four places, and in how many others they do not state, whether the word refers to the Holy Spirit or not, p. 24.

Punctuation is another means of introducing variations in the existing version, without requisite authority. Four "specimens" of unauthorized tampering with the text by means of commas, colons, and periods, are presented in the Report of the Committee, two of which make an important difference in the meaning, viz.: Rom. 4: 1, and Rev. 13: 8, the first of which is admitted to be "found in no edition hitherto," and in regard to the second, it is stated that "the translators wrongly inserted the comma after 'Lamb,'" p. 25.

Parentheses have been omitted and retained at discretion, although the Committee admit that "in some instances they have the force of commentaries."

Brackets have necessarily force in the version of the Bible, and in one important instance, 1 John 2: 23. the Committee have omitted them without the authority of any preceding editions.

Here are at least *eleven* variations relating to the text, found among the "specimens" given by the Committee, without taking into the account those not brought to view.

The question, however, as I have stated, is not one of many or few, of improvement or otherwise. It is a question of fundamental principle. If the Bible Society has a right to change the existing text in 1851, in one, two, or a dozen, or more instances, has has it not the right to make more numerous changes

of the same nature in 1857, and at any time thereafter?

It is remarkable how the Committee unconsciously exceeded their powers. They were authorized by the Board to have the necessary *collation* made, p. 16; and the Committee themselves merely employed a person "to *collate* the principal editions of the English Bible, published by this Society, with the latest British editions," which was afterwards modified by a rule so as to include "the original edition of 1611." And yet it turns out that, besides being the result of a "collation" of existing translations, this standard edition contains original variations introduced from the Hebrew and Greek. Thus "these instances have, of course, been corrected according to the *Hebrew*," p. 20. "This is required by the *Greek*," p. 20. "So the *Greek*," p. 21. "Not in the *Hebrew*," p. 24.—"Nothing corresponding in the *Greek*," p. 24. "Here, according to the order of the *Greek*, it should read." etc., p. 25. "So the *Syriac* and *Latin* versions," although "all the copies" of the English Bible have it otherwise, p. 25. "The clause is now inserted in all critical editions of the *Greek* Testament," p. 26. All this may show very good scholarship, which is not called in question, but where is the authority from the Constitution of the American Bible Society to go behind the translation, and to appeal to the ori-

ginal Hebrew and Greek, and even to the Syriac and Latin versions? Is this "collation"?

The churches must guard with jealous care the *version as it is* — the version as it was in 1816 — the old English version of the Word of God, of two hundred and fifty years' standing. Let there be minor changes of spelling, and a correction of errors, if need be; but *let the old version be untouched, both in words and in meaning.* The churches cannot give up this principle without tolerating a violation of the Constitution of the American Bible Society, and abandoning one of the great principles of the Christian co-partnership in the dissemination of the Scriptures.

II. Another fundamental principle is, that the American Bible Society shall not be allowed to make *notes or comments* on the sacred text. The Constitution says, "without note or comment." The two questions that arise are, what constitutes a note and comment; and if the old headings are of the nature of comments, why publish any? The contents of the chapters, the running heads, and the marginal readings and references, were unquestionably designed to assist the reader in obtaining a correct view of the text; and they do in fact, to a degree varying according to circumstances, perform that office. Although probably not much consulted, these headings give interpretations to the text. If so, it

may be asked, why not exclude them altogether from the existing version? Simply because they were accepted by common consent as part of the version in common use in 1816. Action under the Constitution for a long series of years has settled the point as to the retention of the old headings. But it is obviously a very different question, whether the Society has a right to alter these old landmarks, which are now the hereditary accompaniments of the version. I maintain that they have no more right to do this, than they have to alter the text. It is nothing to the purpose to say, that "in the lapse of time extensive changes and additions have been made." This is, no doubt, true. But the point is, what right has the American Bible Society to make any changes of this nature, that are not found in the standard edition of 1816? And yet, the Committee have here made the most extensive and radical changes, sweeping away large masses of the headings which existed in 1816, and substituting other words of their own selection, as more pertinent. Who had a right to set in motion this reformation, if, indeed, it be a reformation?

Let it be noted that the Committee themselves acknowledge, that many of these old headings are of the nature of comment. They say, "A special example of commentary is found in the contents of all the chapters in the Book of Solomon," p: 28. But

not more special are these than many of the new commentaries of the Committee in various parts of their standard edition. The Committee, besides making indefinite substitutions of their own for these original headings, have taken the liberty of adding several marginal notes, and of omitting a number of marginal references. The references which they have omitted, have been only "those, which on actual examination, proved to be of little, or no importance," p. 30. But there is great room for difference of opinion as to the relative importance of texts of Scripture, in elucidating other parts of Scripture. Scotland was recently thrown into commotion by a new edition of the Bible, which insidiously left out many of the old references, and put in new ones. This was done on the responsibility of a private printing-house, which had no right to assume it; and who gave to the American Bible Society the right to disturb the old references, or any of the accessories at all?

It is remarkable how the Committee exceeded their original powers in going to work at these accessories to the text, just as they did in regard to the text itself. I am far from charging the Committee with transcending their powers from any wrong motives. By no means. Like all men, who attempt to reform on too large a scale, they were doubtless unconsciously led along by the very abundance of their zeal. But

the authority to "collate" the old edition with other translations, did not imply authority to make sweeping alterations in the old-fashioned accessories, etc., at their discretion. Let the reader turn to the third rule, adopted to guide the collation (?), and he will find it as follows:

"3. That the *comparison* includes the Orthography, Capital Letters, Words in Italic, and Punctuation. (To these were added *in practice* the contents of the chapters, and the running heads of the columns.") — p. 16.)

Added in practice? Does this mean that the practice was more extensive than the rule? The rule itself is a proper one, and had in view very proper topics of inquiry; but the practice under it, by including what was not originally intended, and what belonged to an entirely different category, took the largest liberty with rule and regulation. Moreover, let the reader observe that the rule contemplated a *comparison* with other translations, and, not even impliedly, alterations like the radical ones so extensively put forth.

The founders of the American Bible Society undoubtedly meant by "note and comment," such explanations and interpretations as accompany the Tract Society's new edition; and by "the version now in common use," they intended both the text and the accessories, as they then were. Their aim was simply to exclude commentaries in the enlarged

acceptation of that term. The Committee had no right to touch the accessories of the text, except for the simple purpose of "collating" them with other editions to rectify errors.

These two principles, which I have been attempting to illustrate, will commend themselves, it is believed, to many sound and reflecting minds among all denominations of Christians. The American Bible Society must not change the words of the text of the Bible, or alter in any way, to the least degree, its meaning; and it must not add a word of "note or comment" upon the text itself.

If these views are correct, they show what course should be pursued by the American Bible Society, in its present exigency. Let the Society *return to the old version and its accessories*, with those unimportant exceptions which a "collation" with other editions, or the progress of the language, authorizes. Let the Bible be restored to its old position in all essential particulars; and forever hereafter "let well enough alone." For one, I should prefer to have the Bible restored to the exact form in which it was in 1848.

The following additional, or "accessory," reasons why the American Bible Society should retrace its steps in this unfortunate movement, are offered to your candid consideration.

1. Many good Christians in the community *have had their consciences offended* by the changes intro-

duced into the new edition. Granting that their consciences are weak, that the principles involved are not so weighty as they are supposed to be, and that you and others are *certainly* right in their views of the matter, still, does not the Bible itself inculcate the spirit of forbearance, and even of respect and deference, to the convictions of brethren who act upon principle? It is also worthy of your notice that many plain Christians have had their confidence in the American version of the Bible weakened by these numerous changes, the minor ones alone being reported at about "twenty-four thousand" in number, p. 31. This whole subject has necessarily practical bearings, more or less connected with religious faith and experience. Many a true believer, in the midst of the discussions and facts recently presented to the community, will take up his Bible with doubts as to whether this new version is really the same Bible he has been accustomed to read. It is, surely, no small thing to impair the confidence of the people of God in the sacred Book, whence they are accustomed to derive spiritual nourishment and consolation.

2. The new edition makes the Society liable to prosecution in the civil courts for violating its Constitution. I do not affirm that any person will put the question to this severe test; but more questionable points, and less important ones, have been made the subjects of judicial investigation. The points of

difference are certainly, under the charter, within the cognizance of legal tribunals; and a large amount of funds might change hands on the finding of the *fact*, that the new edition differed from "the version in common use."

3. The adoption of the new edition destroys the uniformity between the British and the American Bible. The professed object in undertaking the collation was to produce "uniformity" in our own copies; and the measures recommended, namely, a collation of the old American edition with the first and the four last English editions of authority, would have continued the blessing of one standard Anglo-Saxon Bible for all the world. The very opposite result has been reached by the *faux pas* of the new edition, which you had an agency in bringing out. England will never adopt this new and obnoxious one; and thus the calamity of two diverse standard editions, one in England, and another in America, will be introduced into the nineteenth century.[1]

[1] It seems "Mr. Secretary Brigham communicated to the Committee that the Superintendent of Printing found many discrepancies still existing between our different editions of the English Bible, and also between our editions and those issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society." In regard to the discrepancies between our own editions, it may be asked why the Superintendent did not make all the editions conform to the *standard edition* of the American Bible Society? If the Society had a standard edition, here was the remedy; and there was no occasion for a Committee. If the Society had no standard edition

4. The pressing forward of the new edition will put in jeopardy one of the common interests of Protestant Christianity in the United States. The co-operation of all denominations in the dissemination of the Word of God, is one of the grand exhibitions of Protestant unity. Shall this blessed consummation be disowned, and ended by divisions in our ranks respecting versions? Can the American Bible Society endure the thought of another national institution, or of denominational agencies, or of the printing by private publishing houses of the old edition, in order to satisfy those who, from principle, are determined

at that time, the public has reason to complain of this negligence. Admitting the existence of such an edition, the Superintendent's duty was to follow it in all the Society's editions, and there would have been no discrepancies to correct. In regard to the discrepancies between the American edition and those of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the only way to approximate to an agreement was to make a careful "collation," or comparison of copies, according to rules like Nos. 4, 7, 8, of the Committee. But what is the result? Instead of producing *uniformity* between the American and British editions, which was the Superintendent's desire, the Committee, by transcending, as it seems to me, the original objects of their appointment, have brought forth an edition, *varying* from the British editions in words of the text, orthography, Hebrew plurals, particles of exclamation, the indefinite article, proper names, capital letters, words in italics, important instances of punctuation, parentheses, contents of the chapters, running heads, marginal readings, and marginal references! Thus the Superintendent's laudable object, so far as relates to uniformity between the American and British editions, has been utterly thwarted, and the Committee have made "confusion worse confounded."

to testify against the innovations lately concocted? It will be a sad day to our American Zion when the only form of united action among Protestants shall be forever excluded from the history of Christian evangelization, and shall exist only among the things that were. May God avert this dire calamity from the Churches!

5. This new edition gives great occasion to the new versionists among the Baptists, Unitarians, and others, to magnify the correctness of their position. The principles on which the Committee have inaugurated their work, need only a more extensive application, in order to justify what the Baptists have undertaken on a larger scale. The moment we abandon the principle of "collation," and tolerate a resort to Hebrew and Greek for the correction of the English version, we lose the vantage ground in the controversy. *Obsta principiis.* Hold fast to that which is good.

6. No complaint has ever been made against the old edition by any auxiliary or ecclesiastical body; and no public necessity actually exists for insisting upon the adoption of the new standard. The discovery of even minor errors and variations in the text was made in the printing-office, and not in the Church or in the family. No public notice was ever taken of the subject; no discussion was ever had in reference to it; and no emergency had arisen to demand the radical changes that have been propounded.

Under these circumstances, and when it is found impossible to obtain the general acquiescence of the Christian community in the amendments to the old version, has the Bible Society no alternative but to persevere?

7. The present question is not simply one of majority or minority; but even if it were, the rights of the minority ought not to be disregarded. In a court of justice, right governs; and according to the old Dutch maxim, "right makes might." But this is, to a large extent, a question of Christian magnanimity. The Bible Society is placed in a position to exhibit the power of the sacred book which it disseminates, by gracefully yielding, whilst yet it may, to the popular disapprobation of its doings. The Bible Society may, indeed, if it pleases, refuse "to be in subjection, no, not for an hour." But is the present a case like that before the mind of Paul, when, in the maintenance of his Christian liberty, he refused to be compelled to bind Jewish ceremonies upon his brethren? In the present case, the brethren only ask to be allowed to retain "the form of sound words" which was given to them. If this version has been a good one for forty years, since the foundation of the Society, and for two hundred years before its existence, is it a very strong case of "subjection" to be willing to acknowledge still longer its power? Can the Bible Society do a better thing than to maintain relations

of confidence to its old version, and of amity to those of its friends who prefer it to any other?

These considerations are presented to yourself, my dear Doctor, and to other friends of the good old cause, in the hope that they may tend, in some humble measure, to conciliate the good-will of parties interested in this important matter, and to secure once more united action on the good old ground, sanctified by the memorials of two and a half centuries.

It has given me pain, my dear Dominie and friend. to differ from you on the present question. I trust that our respective churches, one in faith, and in Christian fellowship and holy work, will rally around the standard of *the Bible as it is*, and send down to other generations the legacy of our fathers, untouched in one iota of its essential text or accessories. Nor have I any doubt that, in this determination, you yourself will be found, at the right time, "submitting yourself" to your brethren "in the fear of God."

I am yours, in old bonds,

CORTLANDT VAN RENSSELAER.

ARTICLE II.

REPLY TO DR. VERMILYE'S REJOINDER.[1]

To the Rev. T. E. Vermilye, D. D.:

My Dear Doctor.—One of your grave indiscretions and errors has been to begin and continue these letters, under no inconsiderable excitement towards the Old School Presbyterian Church, or its "leaders," as you are pleased to call them. Scarcely any one would have suspected that you had been "born, baptized, licensed, and ordained" within the communion of our venerable body. May the blessing of her baptismal administration be upon your head, and her holy nurture be more completely realized in the labours of your advancing life!

My rebuke of the severe language, thoughtlessly employed against two of our Theological Professors, was not founded upon the single paragraph, which admits of the explanation offered, and cordially accepted, but upon many expressions in the letter, and the unfortunate tone which pervaded the whole. I presume you have no idea of the real force of some of the expressions in your letter, especially on per-

[1] Originally published in "The Presbyterian," of November 14, 1857.

sonal topics—which it would have been wiser to avoid —and of the various imputations of motives and character therein abounding. As you have made no apology for this style of writing, I venture to submit the above as its best extenuation.

I have again read the speeches of Drs. Breckinridge and Adger in the *Princeton Review*. They do not appear to me to authorize the hard things you affirm of them. The occasion required direct and plain dealing; and if some things were said in an extemporaneous discussion, which had better been left unsaid, as is very apt to be the case, this does not warrant the very severe opprobrium which proceeds from the calm retirement of a pastor's study. Permit me here to assure you that no man exerts a greater influence in our General Assembly than Dr. Breckinridge, whom you assail in vain. Nor is any man more honoured throughout the whole Presbyterian Church, for his past and present services, than our great Kentucky divine. His speech on the Bible Society's new measures was among the ablest and most valuable performances of his life — a speech in which, by the bye, he made a kind allusion to yourself as an esteemed minister of the Dutch Church, and which in its severest parts was replete with a good humour and a parliamentary amiability, which some of his critics seem utterly at a loss to imitate, or even comprehend.

The distinction you make between arraigning the motives and actions of our *whole* Church and of a *part* of our Church, is of no avail, as regards the spirit of the language employed, or as to the matter of fact at issue, or as an apology for the offence committed, because on no public question is our Church probably nearer to unanimity than its opposition to the new edition of the Bible. The General Assembly, in a Christian spirit, consented to postpone action until another year, after the fullest declaration from one of your Secretaries that the objectionable alterations would probably be removed, and the text and its accessories be restored to their former condition.

It appears to me to be no part of your vocation, in discussing this subject, to find fault with the Presbyterian Church, or the High-Church faction in it, or its "unfortunate leadership." What right has a Bible Society Manager to attempt to "lord it over God's heritage," and to denounce the donominational peculiarities of this Church, or of that Church? Admitting that Old School Presbyterians are a set of bigots, far behind the times, and dreadfully set against innovation, what is all that to you, my old friend, or to the Committee of Revision? We claim the liberty of examining into the whole matter of these proposed emendations, and even of discussing the authority and the qualifications of those who have been instrumental in agitating the community on the sacred

theme of their forefathers' Bible. Let our arguments be answered, as far as they can be; but you have no right to stigmatize our "leaders,"[1] to cast insinuations against our motives, or to impeach the denominational characteristics, either of the whole Church, or of a party in it.

Your persistent attempt to amend the Episcopal Liturgy is as unfortunate as the effort to improve the old Bible. It shows that when a modern Reformer begins a work he has no right to touch, there is scarcely anything that will not tempt the benevolent curiosity of his hands.

Let me entreat you, *first*, to moderate some of the extravagant expressions of what may be called high style. A stranger might think that the "excellent oil," which you complain as profusely scattered over clerical garments, has not yet reached the beard, even the good Dominie's beard. But those who know you are prepared to make allowances for these uncharacteristic exaggerations of language. In the *second* place, let our Church and her peculiarities alone; and argue the case on its own merits, without acting the bishop in other people's dioceses.

Allow me, now, to glance at some of your positions.

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[1] The Presbyterian Church acknowledges no "leaders;" but as Dr. Vermilye has used the word, I hope I commit no offence in employing it in my reply.

and to expose their fallacy with moderation and kind feeling. Our common aim is the truth.

1. You say that I certainly know that "the Society has not attempted any alteration in the version," and that "the Committee has disavowed everything but *revision* and restoration." But what says the Committee's Report? It is as follows: "The Committee have had no authority and no desire to go behind the translators, nor in any respect to touch the original version of the text, *unless in cases* of evident inadvertence, or inconsistency, *open and manifest to all*," p. 19. Now here are cases specified in which the Committee actually declare "a desire" to go "behind the translators, and to touch the *original version*." Where they obtained their "authority" to do this, under any circumstances, from their commission to "collate," they have not yet informed the public, although you say that their report is "frank and open to a fault." It appears to me that the Committee's "desire" transcended their "authority;" and furthermore, that neither their "authority nor desire" came up to the condition expressed in their own statement, because the propriety of going "behind the translators, and touching the original version of the text," is now pretty well decided *not* to be "open and manifest to all." Some of the cases in which the Committee acted out their "desire," will be specified

presently. Thus much for your *à priori* appeal to my credulity.

2. You next declare that "the Report gives the *whole*" number of alterations in the words of the text, and find fault with me for expressing some uncertainty. My uncertainty grew entirely out of your own declaration, respecting the insertion of the article between John and Baptist, in two places, where you say "the Committee ventured perhaps unwarrantably to *insert the article*." Inasmuch as the Report says nothing about these two instances, how can you reconcile their occurrence with your present declaration that "the REPORT GIVES THE WHOLE"? Can "the Report give the whole," when Dr. Vermilye adds two cases not found in the Report? If the fact that the Report does not give the whole is, as you say, "a good stone to pelt with," who picked up the stone, and who but the Dutch dominie pelts the Report?

3. The alterations in the text by means of *words*, I stated to be "at least four," which was moderate, as they are really five, viz., twice in John *the* Baptist. twice in Canticles, where *she* is substituted for *he*, and again in inserting *the* before judgment. The two cases about John *the* Baptist are admitted by you to have been "perhaps unwarrantable." But why unwarrantable, unless they involved a doubtful principle—doubtful now even in your judgment, and positively wrong in the judgment of others? The two

cases in Canticles you attempt to defend on the ground that they were original *errors in printing*. But how could you find this out by collation? Remember that your authority only extended to collation, and that by the very rules of your own formation, you were tied up to collate the American edition, "with those of London, Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and the original edition of 1611," p. 17. Now, the Report states that "the *translators* and *all* the copies have, till *he* please." Here your work obviously stopped, and your own rule bound you to go no further, but to let the word stand. But, in opposition to all authority originally given, or defined and limited by your own rule, you went "behind the translators," and behind every copy of the Scriptures ever published, and corrected the text "according to the *Hebrew*," p. 20. In the same way, the insertion of the article before "judgment," is contrary to all the copies prescribed as your standards of collation. In your last letter, you indeed say that the article is found in the editions of 1639, '40, '41, '58, and 83. But what of that? This is, in the first place, appealing to different editions than those prescribed by the Board of Managers and your own selves, which were "the *recent* copies of the four leading British editions, and the one of 1611," p. 16; and in the second place, this is an after-thought of your own, differing from the statement of the Report, which is: Matt. 12 : 21.

reads, *in all the copies*, "shall rise up in judgment," p. 20. Collation, therefore, utterly failed, according to the Report, to discover the error. How, then, was it found out? The Report tells you, "this is required by *the Greek*," p. 20. In this instance, as in others, the Committee's "desire" was to go behind the translators, and behind them they went; but where was their "authority" to do so? As I said before, these alterations, whether important or unimportant, involve a great principle, namely, the right of the American Bible Society to go behind the translators for any purposes whatever. The title-pages of our old English Bibles contain the announcement, "*With former translations diligently compared and revised.*" Your new edition is the first one, in the history of Bible Societies, that has dared to go beyond these words, and to introduce changes by consulting the "original tongues."

4. In regard to the changes of the text by means of capitals, I merely followed the declaration of this curious Report itself. If the reader will turn to page 24, he will find the passages referred to arranged in two columns, of which the left, without capitals, is headed "*English copies*," and the right column, with the capitals, is headed "*Corrected*," and these passages are presented as "specimens of *changes* which have been made." Yet you now say that in three of these cases there were no changes at all, but "in each in-

stance the Committee left it as they found it in the Society's edition!" The four passages I alluded to were Genesis 6 : 3; 41 : 38; Numbers 24 : 2; and Revelation 4 : 5. Of Genesis 41 : 38, you say nothing, nor do you inform the public whether these examples exhaust all the cases, or whether, in the language of the Report, they are "specimens."

5. The four specimens of alteration in the old version by means of *punctuation* were also given on the authority of the Report, which has your signature, and which distinctly admits that they affect the sense: "The following five changes made in the punctuation, are all, it is believed, which *affect the sense*," p. 25; and yet you now argue that the sense is not affected. How strange to find Dr. Vermilye, of the sub-committee, again arguing against the Report of his Committee! The most remarkable of your variations from your own Report, is in your statement about the punctuation in Romans 4 : 1, which passage, according to your letter, is pointed so as to present the meaning "given in the pointing of *all the English copies*, and of 1611;" whereas the Report of your Committee says: "This is found in no *edition hitherto*," p. 25. How is this? Is the Report of the Committee, as you say, "open and frank to a *fault?*" Whose fault is this? If it be said that the peculiarity of the new standard is in having a comma after "Abraham" as well as after "father," I reply, that

the first comma does not affect the sense, and that consequently the *stress* of the Committee's claim of emendation is on the second comma, which change alone "affects the sense." The punctuation of the English Bibles, where the comma is after both "father" and "flesh," leaves the sense doubtful, and I differ from you in the opinion that the meaning in the English copies is necessarily the same as in the new standard. When you will show how the Report came to declare that the punctuation of the two passages in 1 and 2 Corinthians do "affect the sense," while you now deny that they do, it will be time enough for me to answer your question whether they do or not.

6. *Brackets and italics* in 1 John 2 : 23. Here again you not only go behind the translators, but also behind the Committee. The Report says that "the clause is now inserted in all critical editions of the *Greek* Testament; and *as* there is no question of its genuineness, both the brackets and the italics have been dropped," p. 26. The Committee's theory of alteration is new critical light from the Greek. But Dr. Vermilye's theory is that "in throwing out the brackets, we follow the *majority* of the English copies," thus attempting to fortify the change by a numerical majority. At the same time you say nothing about removing the italics of the text, which are found in *all* the English copies, including that of 1611. The

question I here put is this. If the *majority* of copies authorized you to remove the brackets, why did not the authority of *all* the copies compel you to retain the italics?

The fact is that your authority only authorized you to "collate," or, as your own rules have it, to make a "comparison" (Rules 2, 3, p. 16), between the English copies; but your "desire" led to a consultation of the original languages, and thus to alterations of the text. Dr. Breckinridge's idea, to which you refer, was that the Committee had no right to go to the Greek at all; but even if they went there, he had so little knowledge of their qualifications that he could not confide in their conclusions. I am content to say that you had no right to go to the original languages, for the purpose of alteration. You were commissioned to collate, and not to translate or to revise from the Hebrew or Greek. If the Committee had kept to the original idea of Dr. Brigham and of the superintendent of printing, p. 15, most, if not all, of these difficulties would have been avoided.

The Committee's zeal of innovation covers a larger ground than I can now undertake to go over. Among other notable instances of its exhibition is the insertion of new marginal readings. The Committee give us King James's rule, and then say they have "added but two examples" — thus putting themselves on a level with the translators, when they do not show

that they ever received authority to meddle with the margin, except so far as their doings were *afterwards* approved by the Managers. One of these new words put into the margin, is opposite the word "Easter," in Acts 12 : 14, as follows: "Gr. *the Passover*." Now, according to the alterations on page 20, where it is said, "All these instances have, of course, been corrected according to the *Hebrew;*" and "this is required by the *Greek*," the Committee might have put "Passover" into the text instead of "Easter;" for the Greek requires "passover" as much as "the" before "judgment," and it is actually so rendered in every other passage in the Bible. This is mentioned incidentally to show how dangerous it is to go behind the translators in order to correct errors. The Committee, however, have taken the next greatest liberty by putting "Passover" in *the margin*, which the translators did not do, and which the Committee justify themselves in doing, because King James's rule would have authorized it!

The Committee state with great apparent gravity that "they entertain a reverence for the antique forms of words and orthography in the Bible," p. 20; and then they give *two* specimens of their reverence in retaining the words "hoised" and "graff," and *forty-seven* specimens of alterations which indirectly indicate the opposite virtue. In truth, their reverence for what is old, compared with their curiosity

after what is new, appears to be well stated in the proportion of two to forty-seven.

It is impossible for any impartial person, I think, to read the long Report of the Committee without perceiving that the new American edition differs more than any previous one, from the English copies. The differences consist in several words of the version; in the spelling of common nouns, participles, Hebrew plurals, particles of exclamation, forms of the article, and proper names; in compound words; capital letters; words in italics; parentheses and brackets; without counting the *innumerable changes* in the accessories of the text. In punctuation, there may be more general similarity, but there are five cases of alterations which "affect the sense." As a whole, I affirm, without hesitation, that the American edition varies, more than it ever did before, from the English copies, *if the Report of the Committee can be relied upon.*

There is a long paragraph in your letter mystifying the version of 1816, and just so far discrediting the operations of the American Bible Society for a series of years. You challenge me to produce this version, in terms apparently implying the impossibility. As regards the American Bible Society, I suppose that the first edition it published was "the version in common use" in 1816. If it was not, the Society committed a great wrong. Please to take notice, Doctor, that I

do not affirm that this edition was a "*perfect* standard," as you strangely seem to think it must necessarily have been. It no doubt had errors of the press, to be corrected by collation with the English copies. But it must have been (these errors excepted) the version then in common use, or else great culpability is chargeable upon the American Bible Society, who were bound to see that it possessed this character.—I produce, then, in compliance with your peremptory demand, the edition of the Bible, first struck off by the Society, as a standard edition of 1816, not indeed "*perfect*," or "immaculate," but subject to the correction of such errors as a careful collation with English copies would discover. The Bible Society do not pretend that any of their editions have been "perfect:" and even the Committee, who have brought out the new standard, say that "they claim no special freedom from error; they may very possibly not always have fully carried out their own rules; they may have committed oversights," p. 31. Just such errors, owing to oversights, may have existed in the old plates of the New York Bible Society, handed over to the parent Institution. But *there* was "the version in common use," which, errors excepted, was, to all intents and purposes, the version to be perpetuated; and if that edition of it, owing to the culpable negligence of the Society, did not fulfil the requirements of the Constitution, the standard edition of that pe-

riod may at any time be reproduced by taking the Oxford or Cambridge editions of 1816, published by royal authority. Either of these editions would meet the demands of the Constitution of the American Bible Society in a court of law. Why, then, do you write with such imposing solemnity of tone about the impossibility of finding the standard edition of 1816, damaging at the same time, as you do, especially in the eyes of uncritical readers, the whole cause of Bible printing and circulation under the auspices of the American Bible Society in past years? Between this old edition of 1816, and the other editions of the American Bible Society, up to 1851, there has been a substantial agreement. Your new standard, I admit, contains serious variations; and yet you seem to want the public to believe that the "version in common use" in 1816 cannot now be produced. The two great fallacies in your reasoning on this point are, first, in supposing that anybody ever had the idea that any edition of 1816 was a "perfect" one; and secondly, in supposing that anybody had objections to the correction of that, or any other edition, by collation, at any time. The objections to your new edition are not to the correction of errors by collation, but to their correction in other ways, and to many alterations made at the independent discretion of the Committee. There is no more difficulty in finding "the version in common use" in 1816, than in 1826,

1836, 1846, or in any other year. What you say of the copies your Committee collated, is true of any of the editions, "the reproduction of any one, as it stood (*i. e.* even with its errors), would have been substantially the reproduction of King James's Bible." Why all this special pleading, then, about the version in 1816?

As to the *headings*, your letter contains an equally ingenious attempt at innocent mystification. In the first place, no one has ever claimed that these headings must necessarily be in all the editions, quarto. octavo, duodecimo, etc. In the second place, so far as the headings of the first edition published by the American Bible Society varied from those in common use, they are unlawful. In the third place, it makes no difference whether the *first* new plates had headings, or not; because the Society had discretion to print editions without them. In the fourth place, all the ambiguity you throw around the headings of the other early American editions, is so much negligence set to the account of the Parent Society. In the fifth place, you acknowledge that the old standard headings were introduced "about 1828." Here, then, we are out of the fog, at last. The Society, after a careful examination, perhaps at the instance of "the Superintendent of Printing," finally reached the true ground, and fortunately without the aid of a Revision Committee of extraordinary powers. This return to

the old letter "shows what interpretation the founders put upon their own constitution in respect to headings." (Dr. Ver.) In the sixth place, the continuance of these old headings to the present time, indicates their acknowledged binding authority in connection with editions in which they appear. In the seventh place, the objections against any headings, made by some persons in the olden time—which your memory reaches, but whereof I am not personally cognizant — and the discussions growing therefrom, make it appear that the Society then settled the principle of the thing, and have acted upon it, as a thing settled, down to 1857. In the eighth place, the accessories, although not of divine origin, may by circumstances be required to be as unchangeable as the text. To insist that a Revision Committee shall keep their hands off of the headings, by no means exalts "these human trappings to a level with the Divine Word." (Dr. Ver.) In the ninth place, the issue that you are undertaking to raise by presenting the alternative of new improved headings or *none at all*, is radical and revolutionary; and, depend upon it, it is utterly impracticable. The people clearly will not submit to any such alternative at all. They will insist upon the old headings, deliberately adopted by the Society, and in common use in various editions, until these latter days of alteration. What I mean is that, on this subject, the American Bible Society

shall not change its old policy and practice. Although the Society is not bound to put the headings into all the editions, large and small, it ought to continue to put them into those editions where they have ordinarily been found. In the tenth place, the printing of the old headings with the version has the sanction of immemorial usage in the parent country, as well as in our own; and this usage has taken them out of the category of *prohibited* "note and comment." The Constitution requires the Society to publish the editions of the Bible in its integrity, as it was issued from the English press, comprehending text and accessories. These various points, briefly stated, I hold to be impregnable, notwithstanding the specious reasoning in the latter part of your letter. The American Bible Society will imperil its character, position, and usefulness, if it undertakes in any respect to alter the words of the text, or of the accessories, except as to errors to be corrected by collation.

And now, permit me just to hint at some practical lessons deduced from your attempts at Bible emendation.

1. You see, my good friend, that it is a very dangerous thing to meddle with what is old. Whatever is incorporated with the religious feelings and usages of the community, has a sanctity that contains a dreadful power of resistance.

2. A Bible Society ought to "abstain from all ap-

pearance of evil." Better keep on in the good old ways, than strike into new and doubtful paths under a guidance which lacks universal confidence.

3. The right to "print and circulate" involves the right to collate for the purpose of correcting errors that may be so detected, but it will not be allowed to go any farther. Collation does not involve the right of making other kinds of *alterations* in the text and its accessories.

4. The fact that the alterations made "do not mar the integrity of the text, or affect any doctrine or precept of the Bible," p. 31, is not a sufficient plea of justification. Hundreds of other alterations, besides those effected by your Committee, might be made in words and even in the construction of sentences, and in this plausible way claim admittance.

5. Things that are considered unimportant by some people, are regarded by others, equally conscientious, as vitally important, because involving fundamental principles. Conservatives are quite as useful characters in civil society, as innovators and progressives. Future generations, as well as the mass of sober-minded people of the present generation, will thank the Old School Presbyterians for the stand they have taken against unwarrantable Bible emendations.

6. God will bring good out of evil, and will establish the cause of the old Saxon Bible upon a firmer

foundation than ever. Let our works rather than our wrath be made to praise him.

The American Bible Society was planned in the city of Burlington, New Jersey, where the first measures were taken to found the National Institution; and of the members of the Convention, which afterwards met in New York to draw up the Constitution, etc., about one-half of the ministers were Presbyterians, and Presbyterians whose character and subsequent history identified them with the Old School. It is to me, personally, a pleasing incident that, from this city of its origin, where its first President resided, and as an Old School Presbyterian minister, I have been permitted to raise my voice, however feebly, in behalf of the American Bible Society, and its English Bible of 1816. In the name of that illustrious Convention, I call upon all the friends of good order, of peace, and of the old version and its accessories, to maintain their position of truth and right, with courtesy, firmness, and a reliance upon an overruling Providence.

Your old friend, dear Dominie,

CORTLANDT VAN RENSSELAER.

ARTICLE III.

PROTEST OF THE COMMITTEE OF REVISION, AND AN ANSWER TO IT.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers held Feb. 4th, 1858, leave having been granted to Dr. VERMILYE to read a Protest from several members of the Committee on Versions, he proceeded to the reading of that paper, as follows:

PROTEST.

The undersigned, members of the Standing Committee on Versions, feel constrained to present their formal protest against the resolutions adopted by this Board, at its recent adjourned meeting, on the subject of the standard English Bible circulated by the Society, and of the proposed alterations in the same.

They protest against these resolutions:

First, As assuming a principle which is distinctly and emphatically contradicted by the earliest history of this Society, as well as by the customs of the English presses, and the uniform and established usage of language — the principle, viz., that the accessories to that version of the Sacred Scriptures which this Society was organized to distribute, are an integral and permanent part of the version, and are, therefore, not susceptible of change and improvement by the action of this Society under its present constitution.

They protest against the resolutions:

Secondly, As giving validity, and the authority of this Board, to changes heretofore introduced by entirely unknown persons — probably by editors or proof-readers — in the text of the Scriptures, as well as its accessories, and making these an incorporate

and a co-ordinate part of the version to be circulated by this Society; while the careful corrections, unanimously suggested by the Committee on Versions, under their responsibility to the Board, the Society, and the Christian public, and which have been heretofore adopted by the Board, are rejected and set aside.

They protest against the resolutions:

Thirdly, As attributing a practical infallibility to the editors and printers of previous editions of the Holy Scriptures; or, at least, as giving an altogether unwarranted sacredness and authority to even the palpable errors and oversights committed by these; thus exposing the Society to just criticism and censure, and a great and injurious limitation of its usefulness.

They protest against the resolutions:

Fourthly, As restoring, and, in effect, perpetuating "headings" and "contents of chapters" which were not prepared by the College Translators, by whom our excellent version was made; which have had no constant acceptance and support in the editions of the Scriptures issued in Great Britain or in this country; which were not followed in the earliest Bibles published by this Society, and were not introduced into any of these till the year 1830; which contain many obsolete terms and phrases not found in the version, with not a few statements that are palpably untrue, being expressly contradicted by the text; and many of which "headings," etc., are, in the judgment of the undersigned, in direct and plain contravention of that first article of the constitution of the Society which inhibits it from publishing "note or comment."

They protest against these resolutions:

Fifthly, As tending, by necessary force and immediate consequence, to limit the functions of the Committee on Versions—so far as the English version is concerned, with all its accessories—to that of a mere mechanical proof-reader, and to limit the function of the Society itself to that of a simple printing establishment, divesting it of all the authority and right which it heretofore has claimed, and through this Board of Managers has more than once exercised, of perfecting from time to time, by a more careful editing, and the correcting of errors before unnoticed, the

copies of that inestimable version which it constantly has distributed.

They protest against the resolutions:

Sixthly, As having been the fruit of the action of a committee who, through inadvertence, or for some other reason, had sought no conference with the Committee on Versions; had presented to them no specifications of the charges made against their work; and had neither obtained nor requested from them any authorized statement or explanation, in answer to such charges, of the principles upon which that work had been conducted.

They protest against the resolutions:

Seventhly, As casting, if not directly and in terms, yet by necessary inference, an unmerited reproach on the Committee on Versions, whose members laboured for three and a half years, conscientiously and diligently, at the request of the Board, to prepare for the Society the most perfect edition possible of the version in common use; and whose work, at first unanimously accepted by the Board with thanks and applause; eulogized in the annual reports of the Society; received by all the purchasers of its Bibles without dissent; distributed as valuable gifts to theological seminaries, and sent with letters of strong commendation, by order of the Board, to eminent citizens in our own country, and even to sovereigns in Europe and elsewhere, is now, after the lapse of nearly seven years, summarily discarded.

They protest against the resolutions:

Eighthly, As further and needlessly increasing this reproach, by giving no specifications of the errors assumed to have been committed by the Committee on Versions in their work of revision — thus practically allowing the most exaggerated and injurious impressions, which have been circulated of late concerning them and their work, to pass uncontradicted, and seeming, in the absence of such contradiction, to give to these impressions the implicit sanction of the Board.

They protest against the resolutions:

Ninthly and Finally, As having been adopted at a meeting of the Board at which the careful arguments and historical state-

ments prepared in behalf of the several reports then under consideration, which had before been prevented from being published, were not allowed to be read, thus preventing a large number of those present and voting, from attaining that knowledge of the facts concerned and the principles involved, which only these papers, as distinguished from individual and oral discussion, were fitted to afford.

On the grounds thus recited, with others not now needful to be specified, the undersigned respectfully but firmly protest against the resolutions thus adopted by the Board, and ask that this paper may be received and entered upon the minutes.

Signed, EDWARD ROBINSON,
THOMAS COCK,
THOMAS E. VERMILYE,
SAMUEL H. TURNER,
JAMES FLOY.

On all grounds except the sixth, which expresses certain views with reference to the Special Committee, which, as its Chairman, he does not feel called on to express.

R. S. STORRS, JR.

The undersigned, formerly a member of the Committee on Versions, was satisfied then, and is now, that the principle at the basis of that Committee's work is correct. He asks, therefore, to append his name to the Protest, to testify his opinion that the Committee did not violate the Constitution, in letter or in spirit, in preparing either the text or accessories of the late standard edition of the Scriptures.

JOHN MCCLINTOCK.

NEW YORK, February 4, 1858.

This Protest was received, which gives it a place upon the files of the Society; but, after considerable discussion, it was decided not to allow it a place, as a protest, upon the minutes.

[The Board of Managers, in the judgment of many friends of the Bible cause, committed an error in refusing to allow the Protest to go upon the records. An Answer to the Protest might have been prepared immediately, and both Protest and Answer been placed together among the archives of the Society. The following Answer is put forth in the fear of God, and with the love of truth. — C. V. R.]

ANSWER TO THE PROTEST.

A life member of the Board of Managers of the American Bible Society feels constrained to answer the Protest, issued by the resigning members of the Committee on Versions, in all its parts, from beginning to end, in the manner and form following:

First. The resolutions of the Board of Managers, rescinding the action of the Committee on Versions, assume a principle which is implied in the common usage of language relating to the subject; is recognized by the British standard editions, issued by royal authority; and although unwittingly impaired to some extent, in the earliest editions of the American Bible Society,[1] was reaffirmed with marked emphasis by the Board of Managers in 1830, as at the present time, viz., that the accessories to the English version, which the American Bible Society was organized to distribute, are, like the text itself, to be held inviolate, and

[1] See Mr. Lenox's Note to Dr. Boardman's Report, and Dr. Brigham's Second Letter.

cannot be changed by the action of the Society under its present constitution.

Secondly. The resolutions of the Board of Managers give validity and authority to the condition of the text and accessories of the English Bible, as found "in common use in 1816," when the American Bible Society was organized; the previous changes from the original edition of 1611, which were comparatively few and unimportant, and had grown up with the silent acquiescence of the British authorities, being part of the edition adopted by the Constitution of the Society for circulation, whilst the many and often careless and radical alterations, suggested by the Committee on Versions, without regard to the limitations of 1816, have been rejected and set aside, for reasons satisfactory to the Board, the Society, and the Christian public.

Thirdly. The resolutions attribute no infallibility to erring men, whether printers, collators, or revisers of the Holy Scriptures, in this or in past generations; but simply prefer the old edition as it is (with the correction, by collation, of palpable errors and oversights), to the proposed emendations of the Committee, which would expose the Society to just criticism and censure, and a great and injurious limitation of its usefulness.

Fourthly. The resolutions of the Board of Managers aim at restoring and perpetuating the headings

and contents of chapters, prepared under the authority of the College of translators,[1] by whom our excellent version was made; which were followed with a few unintentional variations, in the earliest editions of the American Bible Society, and were authoritatively introduced into all its editions as soon as the facts became known to the Society;[2] and if the old headings and contents contain a few obsolete and doubtful terms and phrases, they are far less exceptionable, on the whole, than the headings of the Collator and Committee, some of which were, in the judgment of the Board, in direct and plain contravention of that first article of the Constitution of the Society, which inhibits it from publishing "note or comment," and which restricts it to "the version now in common use."

Fifthly. The function of the Committee on Versions, so far as the English version is concerned, has, by necessary force, and immediate consequence, and direct authority, been generally understood to be confined to that of "mechanical proof-reading," or, in other words, to *collation;* and the true function of the Society itself, as regards publication, is in some respects even more restricted than that of a private printing establishment, which is not bound by a writ-

[1] See first paragraph to Dr. Brigham's Third Letter.

[2] See Dr. Brigham's Second Letter.

ten Constitution; and the Board of Managers have always acted upon the principle of editing the editions carefully, and of correcting errors by collation, but they disown the principle of introducing changes into the text and accessories, such as are openly admitted by the Committee on Versions to have been in no previous editions whatever.

Sixthly. The chairman of the Committee of Nine was a member of the Committee on Versions, and competent (as appears from his Minority Report) to give all the necessary information in reference to a subject thoroughly discussed and well understood; nevertheless, when the committee endeavoured to gain access to the Society's book, in which the Collator kept an account of all the variations in the copies collated, as stated in the published Report of 1851, they were informed that said book was not yet "ready" [in January, 1858, after a lapse of seven years.[1]]

Seventhly. Never were Christian gentlemen treated personally with more tender and universal respect than the protesting members of the Committee on Versions; and no reproach was implied in the action of the Board, beyond that of an official disapprobation of unconstitutional emendations, which over-sensitive

[1] See Report on the recent Collation, p. 28, where the mode of preparing this book is described. Also Dr. Brigham's Third Letter, under Division IV.

and zealous reformers might misinterpret and thus misname; and the mere fact that their work of "three and a half years," at first deemed worthy of eulogy and of presentation to seminaries and sovereigns, was after a more thorough examination judged to be in contravention to the principles of the American Bible Society, does not fairly convey unjustifiable censure to the Committee on Versions, especially as the Board has determined to retain all that is really valuable, or at least unexceptionable, in their labours.

Eighthly. Specifications of the errors in principle and the errors in practice, committed by the Committee on Versions in their work of revision, were abundantly enumerated at all the meetings of the Board of Managers at which the subject was considered; so that one of the last grounds of plausible protest is the lack of information, on the part of the protesters, in regard to the points complained of; and it is believed that the public, instead of having an exaggerated and unjust view of the work of the revisers, possess a very imperfect and lenient impression of the nature and extent of their unconstitutional proceedings.

Ninthly and finally. The Board of Managers did not deem it necessary to read again, at an adjourned meeting, documents previously read, well understood, immensely long, and only called for by those who seemed most unwilling to come to a vote; nor did

any of the Managers finally vote without a full knowledge of the facts and principles involved, unless the protesters have more information about some of the minority than is claimed by those on the opposite side.

If any other "grounds of protest" should be hereafter "recited" — which, however, it is believed are "not needful to be specified" — they will receive in due time a full and candid answer.

All which is respectfully submitted.

CORTLANDT VAN RENSSELAER.

ARTICLE IV.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

REPLY TO CAMEROY.[1]

All Christian men seek "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth." So far as I may have commited errors in the history of the American Bible Society, or may hereafter commit them, it is my sincere desire that they may be corrected. I do not admit, however, that my revised statement of the origin of the American Bible Society contains any error; while I think it can be shown that my old friend "Cameroy" has himself fallen into material mistakes. Let the truth be evolved by discussion.

The *idea* of a national Bible Society was undoubtedly in many minds long before its formation. The British and Foreign Bible Society, which was established in 1804, suggested to the Philadelphia Bible Society the expediency of forming a similar institution in the United States. The proposition was received by some favourably, as appears from the advo-

[1] This Letter originally appeared in the *New York Observer*. It is generally known that "Cameroy" is the Rev. James W. McLean, D. D., the Collator of the new edition of the Bible.

cacy of Mills and from the New Jersey movement; but it met with opposition from the Philadelphia and New York Bible Societies, and elsewhere. There can be no doubt that Samuel J. Mills ardently desired the formation of a national Bible Society; and other prominent and enterprising men of that day were of a similar mind. I have no disposition to detract a particle from the merits of Mills, whose name is precious among the people of God. I am forward with "Cameroy," in giving to that truly good and gifted man, all praises for his thoughts, and efforts, and prayers, as a Bible distributor, and as an advocate for a national institution. But the chief question is. who originated and planned the *measures* which led to the final success of the scheme? Hundreds had thought of applying steam to machinery, and machinery to navigation; but Watt and Fulton enjoy the reputation of reducing those great ideas to practical and useful results. Without at all disparaging the efficiency of Mills in propagating sentiments favourable to the organization of a National Bible Society, I believe that the claims of Dr. Boudinot, as its *founder*, cannot be overthrown.

Dr. Spring, whose admirable Life of Mills has furnished the principal facts in Cameroy's communication, summed up the question more impartially than Cameroy has done; and I beg leave to add a sentence to the extracts, quoted by Cameroy from that book.

Dr. Spring, speaking of the interview between "a respectable member of the General Assembly" and Dr. Boudinot, at Burlington, N. J., after the rising of the Assembly in June, 1814, says:

"It was at this interview *the foundation of this lofty edifice* [the American Bible Society] *was laid,* and if it has inscribed on one side the endeared and memorable name of ELIAS BOUDINOT, it has on the other the humble inscription of *Samuel J. Mills,*" p. 97.

The terms "originated," "founded," etc., are used somewhat indefinitely. Neither Mills nor Boudinot "originated" the idea of a National Bible Society. All admit that its formation was first proposed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. Mills took up the idea with great earnestness, and advocated it with all his powers; but BOUDINOT was the man who originated and executed, under God, the measures which resulted in its formation. Let us examine the facts, and see if they do not warrant this conclusion.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers, held on August 30th, 1814, at Burlington, in Dr. Boudinot's house, resolutions were offered by Dr. Boudinot, which had in view the formation of a National Bible Society. On the following day, Dr. Boudinot, chairman of the committee on this subject, brought in a report, which was adopted by the Managers, and also adopted by the State Society, which met in Burlington on the same day, August 31st. The great object in view

was to form a national union of Bible Societies, "for the purpose of disseminating the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, according to the present approved version, without note or comment, in places beyond the limits of the United States, or within them, where the State Societies, or any one of them, shall be unable, from any circumstance whatever, to supply their wants, or where there shall not be a Bible Society established in the State." The details of this plan might have been changed, certainly with the approbation of the local Societies, by the Convention, when met. The object was, in general, the same that is contemplated by the existing American Bible Society.

Dr. Boudinot immediately issued circulars to all the Bible Societies in the United States, then few in number. The subject met with favour for a time; but the Philadelphia Bible Society, the oldest of all, became strongly opposed to the contemplated movement for a general Society, and sent a circular in opposition to the one issued by Dr. Boudinot. Dr. Boudinot states, in his report of 3d of April, 1815, that he sent answers to the Philadelphia circular, "but in most instances they arrived too late, the Societies having taken their measures immediately on receipt of the address from Philadelphia. This has prevented the success of the whole measure, which at first seemed to give universal satisfaction."

The good man, however, was not discouraged, although he had much to contend with. The Philadelphia Society, with Bishop White and Robert Ralston at its head, was opposed to a national institution *under any form*. The Philadelphia plan was simply to secure annually the publication of a report, giving an account of the operations of all the Bible Societies in the country. The Society in New York also declined to take any measures to send delegates to the first general meeting, which was to have been held in Philadelphia during the meeting of the Assembly in May, 1815.

In regard to this opposition on the part of the New York Bible Society, Cameroy omits to state, that it was owing to objections to *any* General Society, as well as to the objections to the plan proposed. The Report of the Board of Managers, of the date of Nov. 29th, 1814, says:

"This Board, however, were not able to discover any advantages likely to result from the contemplated institution, which could not be compassed by a more simple, expeditious, and less expensive process, namely, *by correspondence*." The Report then specifies objections arising from [the expense of delegates, consumption of time, impracticability of securing their attendance, and concludes by declaring] "the inexpediency of delegating in this manner the control of their respective funds, *under any regulations that might be devised*, to secure the ends proposed." Pp. 11, 12.

The New York Bible Society, therefore, was, at this time, not only opposed to Dr. Boudinot's plan, but to

any plan whatever for a General Society; preferring to do the work by "correspondence," and unwilling to trust its funds out of its own hands. The Board of Managers of the Society, where "the influence of Mills was more particularly felt," state that they were "unanimous" in their conclusion.

Such an amount of opposition to a General Bible Union would have caused many a man, less resolute than Dr. Boudinot, to abandon the project in despair. But Dr. Boudinot felt that he was commissioned to do a great work, in his Divine Master's name. At the meeting of the New Jersey Bible Society, on August 30th, 1815, he made "a very long report" on his favourite subject, which was referred to the Board of Managers, and by them referred to a committee, to report at their next meeting in April, 1816. But the meeting in April was too remote for a man of his energy. He continued to correspond on the subject, with his large heart bent on accomplishing its purpose. Fortunately, about this time, the New York Bible Society, under the urgent representations of Mills, began to reconsider their previous position of *opposition to a general Bible Union of any sort*. Thus it was that the Society 'where Mills's influence was more particularly felt,' began, *more than a year after the New Jersey movement*, to think favourably of a 'General Bible Institution for the United States,' as they expressed it.

In Cameroy's attempt to elevate Mills above Boudinot, he deems it necessary to maintain that the difference between the Burlington plan and the one ultimately adopted, nullified the claim of Dr. Boudinot to be considered the founder of the American Bible Society. He is unwilling to look upon all the movements in behalf of a national institution, as a succession of the same evangelistic efforts. As Cameroy and myself do not agree upon Dr. Boudinot's claim to be regarded the founder of the American Bible Society, I propose to bring up, for examination, witnesses of the olden time; and, inasmuch as Cameroy loves to *consult the original*, I will quote from official documents. I will begin with the NEW YORK BIBLE SOCIETY, where, according to Cameroy, "Mills's influence was more particularly felt." This Society, in their report of December, 1815, state, they judged it expedient to call a convention, "for the purpose of considering whether such co-operation may be effected in a better manner than by the *correspondence* of the different Societies, as now established; and if so, that the delegates prepare a draft of a plan of such co-operation, to be submitted to the different Societies for their decision." Here, it will be seen that the call for the Convention specified *no particular plan*, but left the details to the decision of a Convention. And in order to show the reader that this movement was judged to be only a continuation of measures to

secure Dr. Boudinot's object, I ask attention to the following sentences in the report, immediately succeeding the sentence which Cameroy quoted in part. Why he did not quote the whole, is for him to say.

"This vote (in favour of a Convention) has been, by order of the Board, communicated to the President of the New Jersey Bible Society [Dr. Boudinot], *with whom the subject originated*, and by whom it *has hitherto been prosecuted*, as the most suitable person to call such a Convention, at the time and in the manner which he may think fit."—Report, N. Y. Bib. Soc. 1815, p. 11.

Cameroy will see, from the *whole paragraph*, that the New York Bible Society had no hesitation in declaring that the subject of forming a National Society "originated" with Dr. Boudinot (the very word I used), "by whom it has been hitherto prosecuted," clearly implying that he was the chief agent in forming the Society. As no one denies that the first *measures* in reference to a general organization were taken in the "old Quaker City" of Burlington, I claim that the New York Bible Society fully indorses my three propositions, correctly stated by Cameroy. The testimony of the times, and especially of that "particular" Society, is better than any of Cameroy's reasoning. The men who drew up that report, knew perfectly well that Mills was an active advocate of a National Bible Society; but they also well knew that the credit of originating and prosecuting measures

for the formation of the Society belonged to Dr. Boudinot.

I propose, in the next place, to "collate" my statement respecting the agency of Dr. Boudinot, and of the New Jersey Bible Society, in this matter, with the statement of the first Report of the American Bible Society. On the first page of the first Report, Cameroy will find these words:

"The Managers feel it their duty to state that the plan of such an institution was *first suggested* by the British and Foreign Bible Society, to the Philadelphia Bible Society. No *measures*, however, were adopted to attempt its *execution*, until the *New Jersey Bible Society* undertook the experiment. Although baffled in their first effort, their *worthy President* [Dr. Boudinot], acting in conformity to their wishes, *persevered in the good work, and finally succeeded.* Called by the unanimous voice of the Managers to the Presidency of the National Institution, he is, in the decline of life, enjoying that pleasure which springs *from his work of faith and labour of love*, thus far owned of God, and promising the highest and most lasting blessings to this Western Continent." — First An. Report, 1817, pp. 9 and 10.

Cameroy will here find no attempt to *break up the connection* between the original "Burlington action," and the final action in New York. The Report of the American Bible Society cordially admits that Dr. Boudinot devised the original *measures* for the *execution of the plan*, and persevered until he *finally succeeded.*

Cameroy will perceive, in the statements of these two official Reports, something more substantial than

treacherous tradition; and I think he will also wonder how he came to write with so much confidence that "the *records* of the past are against" my three several positions. The records confirm every one of them.

Cameroy's communication leaves the impression upon the mind of the reader, that the ground of the opposition from the Philadelphia Bible Society to the first proposition to form a general association, was the peculiar nature of the original plan. But this is another of his mistakes. The Philadelphia Bible Society opposed the second Convention, held in New York, in 1816, for the same reasons that had been urged in 1814. The Report for 1816, states on this subject as follows:

"To the proposition, *recently revived* by the Bible Societies of New Jersey and New York, for establishing a *general Society for the United States*, they have attended with those dispositions which the magnitude of the scheme and the respectability of its origin required. Without swelling their report by entering into a detail of the reasons of the managers for dissenting from this plan, which were communicated in a printed circular to their sister societies *about the close of the year* 1814, they are compelled to acknowledge their unanimous adherence to *the objections then urged*, as conclusive in their minds against its adoption."

It thus appears that both the friends and the opponents of the General Society of that day, admitted the identity of the objects and aims of the two Conventions. It has been left to Cameroy to attempt a "revision" of the original testimony of the founders

of the American Bible Society, and in such a way as to "affect the sense" of the records — not willingly, but unconsciously. The error is of the head, and not of the heart — like mine about tradition.

Finally, let us hear Dr. Boudinot himself, the aged patriarch, the founder of the Institution, and its first President. In the *Appendix* to the first Annual Report of the American Bible Society, is a letter from Dr. Boudinot, which shows that the Burlington action had never been in any danger of dying out. Having drawn up all the early papers on the subject, twice issued circulars to all the local Societies, published answers to objections, made official reports, and carried on an extensive correspondence, the following extract shows the spirit of the man, whose hand was incessantly engaged in the great work:

"Although there have been great temptations to despair of final success, yet have I been so strengthened with the assurance that it was a work of God, and that he would show his power and glory in bringing it to maturity in his own time, and by his own means, that I had determined, in *case of failure in the last attempt*, to commence the great business *at all events*, with the aid of a *few laymen*, who had testified their willingness to go all lengths with me."

In this extract Cameroy may see a man, whose great singleness and purity of purpose was mingled with indomitable resolution and perseverance — just such a man as Providence raised up to "originate" and "prosecute" the measures, which, in the midst

of much opposition, resulted in the formation of the American Bible Society.

Dr. Boudinot was prevented by severe sickness, from attending the Convention that met in New York, in 1816. In his absence, his friend and fellow-labourer, Joshua M.Wallace, Esq., of Burlington, N. J., was elected President of the Convention. If the delight on the countenance of the youthful Mills, at that Convention, was "worthy of the pencil of a West, or a Raphael," what painter could delineate the hope and faith and peace that illuminated the mind and features of the venerable patriarch in his sick chamber, praying for the consummation of the last efforts of his long life, and waiting for the consolation of Israel?

The truth is that Mills, as Cameroy well expresses it in one of his sentences, was a "*pioneer;*" but Boudinot was the *founder* of the American Bible Society. Mills was absent on missionary tours at the West and Southwest, during almost the whole of the years 1812, 1813, 1814, and 1815, there having been a short interval of time between his two excursions. Dr. Boudinot was in constant intercourse with the chief men of New York and Philadelphia; corresponded with the British and Foreign Bible Society; and, as President of the New Jersey Bible Society, from its foundation in 1809, he was familiar with all the practical bearings of Bible distribution, and well

knew the difficulties resulting from a want of union in these efforts. It is unreasonable to suppose that such a man never thought of the advantages of a National Society, prior to the interview at Burlington, in 1814. The time had at length come for action. That interview may have assisted in stimulating the enterprising mind of Dr. Boudinot to commence the work of organizing; but whatever may have been its influence, that interview only establishes the connection of the name of BOUDINOT with the foundation of the American Bible Society.

Whilst amicably discussing the comparative merits of Boudinot and Mills, in reference to the point at issue, let us gratefully acknowledge that both of these excellent men were servants of our Lord Jesus Christ, raised up to do a great work, in their respective spheres, in their day and generation; and that whatever usefulness crowned the labours of their lives, all its praise is due to God alone.

C. VAN RENSSELAER.

NOTE.

Since writing the foregoing reply to "Cameroy," I have succeeded in finding Dr. Boudinot's Circular Letter, inviting the different Bible Societies to send Delegates to a Convention in New York, in the year 1816, for the purpose of forming a National Institution. This Circular throws some light upon the points agitated by "Cameroy."

CIRCULAR.

To the Several Bible Societies in the United States of America.

Brethren: It is with peculiar pleasure that I once more address you, on the interesting subject of the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, by disseminating his Gospel wherever it is not known. After serious reflection, I determined again to solicit a meeting of Delegates from such Bible Societies as shall cordially join in this measure. Having laid this proposal before the Bible Society of New York, it took a more enlarged view of the plan, and adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, 1st. That it is highly desirable to obtain, upon as large a scale as possible, a co-operation of the efforts of the Christian community throughout the United States, for the efficient distribution of the Holy Scriptures.

"2d. That, as a means for the attainment of this end, it will be expedient to have a Convention of Delegates from such Bible Societies, as shall be disposed to concur in this measure, to meet at ——, on the —— day of —— next, for the purpose of considering whether such a co-operation may be effected in a better manner than by the correspondence of the different Societies, as now established; and if so, that they prepare the draft of a plan for such co-operation, to be submitted to the different Societies for their decisions.

"3d. That the Secretary transmit the above resolutions to the President of the New Jersey Bible Society, as expressive of the opinion of this Board, on the measures therein contained, and at the same time signifying the wish of this Board that he would exercise his own discretion in bringing the subject before the public."

In pursuance of the foregoing resolutions, requesting me to designate the time and place at which the proposed meeting of Delegates from the different Bible Societies in the United States shall take place; after mature deliberation, and consulting judicious friends on this important subject, I am decidedly of the opinion that the most suitable place for the proposed meeting is in the city of New York, and the most convenient time, the second Wednesday of May next; and I do appoint and recommend the said meeting to be held at that time and place. Should it please a merciful God to raise me from the bed of sickness to which I am now confined, it will afford me the highest satisfaction to attend at that time, and contribute all in my power toward the establishment and organization of a Society which, with the blessing of God, I have not the least doubt will in time, in point of usefulness, be second only to the parent institution (the British and Foreign Bible Society), shed an unfading lustre on our Christian community, and prove a blessing to our country and the world.

ELIAS BOUDINOT,

President of the N. J. Bible Society.

Burlington, Jan. 17th, 1816.

This circular of Dr. Boudinot establishes the following positions:

1. After the failure of Dr. Boudinot's first effort to obtain a meeting of Delegates to form a National Society, he had made up his mind to call another meeting for that purpose, on his own responsibility.

2. *Dr. Boudinot* himself brought the subject before the New York Bible Society, the second time; and the resolutions of this

Society in favour of a Convention were a response to *Dr. Boudinot's suggestions.*

3. After an interval of two years, the New York Bible Society was led to believe that "a more enlarged" plan of conducting operations ought to be adopted, than that of mere "correspondence" between the different Societies, which was their original and crude plan, when Dr. Boudinot first called their attention, in 1814, to the importance of general co-operation on a national scale.

4. No particular measures were proposed by the New York Society in their resolutions uniting in a call for another Convention, but the matter was left entirely open for the action of the Convention itself. The resolutions and the Circular aimed simply at securing *co-operation in a better form* than the existing one, of correspondence.

5. All the official documents of the day, as they come to light, prove that Dr. BOUDINOT, more than any other man, is entitled to the appellation of FOUNDER OF THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

C. V. R.

FUNERAL SERMON

UPON THE

DEATH OF BISHOP DOANE.

Providence often summons a person to the performance of duties, which would otherwise more naturally have devolved upon others. Living in Burlington, by the side of Bishop Doane, I felt called upon to notice his death. My own stand-point varies from that of some others. I shall have no personal controversy with any who differ from me. God is the Judge of all.

C. V. R.

DISCOURSE.[1]

"Let us fall now into the hand of the Lord; for his mercies are great: but let me not fall into the hand of man."—2 Sam. 24: 14.

In the choice of evils, which God offered to David, the king wisely preferred years of pestilence or famine from the hand of the Lord, to months of adversity in the midst of his enemies.

Every man has his trials, and especially every great man; and the most severe are those which come from his fellow-creatures. To fall into man's hands is the worst of human calamities. It was so in David's day; it is so now.

I. Let us first consider some of the causes of man's bitterness against his fellow-man, or more specifically, *some of the reasons of* THE FEARFUL HARSHNESS OF HUMAN JUDGMENTS. In discussing this subject, it is by no means implied that all opinions, condemning the conduct of our fellow-men, are wrong or unjust;

[1] Preached in the Presbyterian Church, Burlington, N. J., May 1st, 1859.

but simply that there is a strong tendency to severe judgments, even when evil may have been committed; and that this tendency may be explained in various ways.

1. *Human depravity* accounts, in the general, for every offence against God or our neighbours, in thought, or word, or deed; for all the wars and rumours of wars, whether on the scale of nations, or of families, or of individuals. It is sin, perverting the understanding and hardening the heart, that brings into society, enmity, and all uncharitableness.

The monuments of man's ill-will to his fellow-men are reared all along the highroad of his depravity.

2. *Self-righteousness* has much to do with our harsh judgments against others. We unconsciously gratify our love of self in condemning others for sins, of which we ourselves may not be guilty. Our testimony against others becomes a pleasant mode of vindicating our own innocence. Did you never see the self-righteous schoolboy magnify the infirmities of his companion, in the vanity of bringing into notice his own merit? Thus it is with self-righteous detractors, everywhere, and at all times.

3. *Personal prejudices* go far to embitter our views of the actions and conduct of others. Some men are so constituted, with strong elements of character, as easily to make friends or enemies. Harsh opinions

will, of course, be formed of them, by those whose prejudices have been aroused.

4. *Sectarian animosities* are another source of severe judgment. Powerfully, though often unconsciously, do these denominational alienations affect one church in its estimate of the great men of another; and this infirmity may prevail in one's own church as well as in other churches.

5. *Jealousy* of a higher position than our own, must not be omitted in the catalogue of erring causes. It is a prolific source of differences, both in public and private life.

6. *Injury to our temporal interests* often violently affects our opinion of our neighbour. The love of money is the root of all evil. A failure to return dollar for dollar engenders a distrust and enmity that may pursue its victim for life.

These are some of the causes that render it fearful to fall into the hands of man. Our characters, our motives, and our conduct find little charity among our fellows. I again distinctly admit that there is too often just ground of condemnation, and that wrong actions always deserve rebuke. These remarks are far from being intended to palliate crime, or to extenuate the guilt of human wickedness. Their object is to expose the tendency to exaggeration in evil reports, and to explain the reasons which often sway the mind in its too severe scrutiny of the con-

duct of others; and even when men have undeniably committed grievous sins, the words of David are only the more true: "Let us fall into the hand of the Lord, for his mercies are great; but let me not fall into the hand of man!"

II. The greatness of God's mercies are a ground of confidence, to all who rightly put their trust in them.

1. God's mercies are great in the *general manifestations of his Providence.* He preserves and blesses all. He causes his sun "to rise on the evil and the good, and sends his rain on the just and the unjust." "He has not left himself without a witness, in that he gives us fruitful seasons, and fills our hearts with food and gladness." Yea, men who violate the Sabbath, and take the name of God in vain, are permitted to reap abundant harvests. Mercy adorns Providence, as the buds and blossoms beautify our trees in spring. All mankind, however wicked, are invited to entertain thoughts of hope and God. In every individual's life, there are *multitudes* of mercies (so the text). Whilst this is no ground of presumption, it is of trust. —certainly of the preference of David: "Let me fall into the hand of the Lord, for his mercies are great."

2. *The plan of salvation* shows God's great mercy. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life." Jesus listens to

the cry of the penitent, and invites the backslider's return. He is the tender-hearted Friend of publicans and sinners. His precious blood can wash out guilt of deepest hue. He is more ready to forgive than the faint-hearted suppliant to ask. There is matchless love in the Person of the Son of Man. Behold him pleading with the weary and heavy laden, forgiving sins, healing diseases, blessing the sorrowing, saving the lost. Oh, Saviour, we can come to thee! Thy birth, and life, and crucifixion, and resurrection, and ascension, declare the love, and condescension, and majesty of a God. Into thy hands we can commend our all, living or dying; but oh, "let us not fall into the hand of man!"

3. *The distribution of God's grace* displays his manifold mercy. He apportions his grace to all classes of men, in every continent and nation, barbarian, Scythian, Greek, or Jew; and to men of all classes, high or low, rich or poor, bond or free, moral or immoral. "The chief of sinners" finds his place; and "the least of all saints" receives his share. The spirit also moves on mighty masses of men, who yet resist His call. God's grace is communicated on a vast scale, and it is of the highest spiritual quality.

In the presence of such manifestations of Divine mercy, in the kingdom of providence and grace, a poor sinner may put his trust in the Lord when no

charity is offered from man. If really innocent, the judgment of the Omniscient acquits at His bar the person accused of criminal offences. If, on the contrary, the accused person is guilty, it is safer to fall into the hand of the Lord, whose mercies are great, than into the hand of man; not simply on the general grounds specified, but for reasons such as the following, in particular:

In the first place, *God sees all the extenuating circumstances* of the guilty action, whilst man magnifies every particular of infirmity, and perverts every rumour with a thousand tongues. In the second place, *God distinguishes between acts, and character.* A Christian may backslide into conduct which brings reproach upon the Church, as David, and Solomon, and Peter did; and yet God can discern the true, predominant religious character of the offender, during the interval of his temporary apostacy. The judgment of man on the other hand commonly overlooks this essential distinction, and confounds occasional backsliding with habitual acts of wickedness. In the third place, *God is acquainted with the penitential exercises of the returning transgressor.* He accepts the renewal of his faith in Christ, notwithstanding the guilt and rebellion of the past; but man, unforgiving by nature, is both unable and often unwilling to discern the relation in which the offender may afterwards stand in the presence of the King of kings.

It was a wise preference, therefore, of David, when he declared: "Let us fall into the hand of the Lord, for his mercies are great; but let me not fall into the hand of man."

With these preliminary explications of the spirit of the text, I proceed to a consideration of the character and services of that remarkable man, whose sudden death has thrown shadows so dark and so far.

Bishop Doane had his faults, as who has not? "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone." In taking a glance at his infirmities, let us remember,

1. God is the only Judge.
2. He has gone to his final award.
3. We ourselves are sinners.
4. No charge being judicially proved, charity has large scope.
5. His faults were never concealed; for his nature knew no guile.
6. His many virtues claim a full and fair offset against every charge.
7. With what judgment ye judge, it shall be measured to you again.

These are general considerations. This is not the place, nor is it my duty, to discuss the particulars of accusation. It is sufficient to express the opinion

that the distinguished prelate was often harshly judged, and calumniated.

There are three remarkable facts, which serve to commend, and to enforce, charity over his grave.

In the first place, Bishop Doane's most intimate friends believed him innocent. Judges, lawyers, physicians, divines, intimate acquaintances, male and female, by scores and thousands, have placed the most implicit confidence in his motives and integrity.

In the second place, his Church, in its Diocesan and General Convention, was never against him. Indeed, the House of Bishops formally declared his innocence; and this is presumptive proof that his religious character could not be impugned in the Church to which he belonged.

In the third place, it cannot be denied that God showed no little favour to the Bishop in life and in death. He enabled him to accomplish a large amount of good; protected him in Providence from a varied and powerful opposition; and permitted him, after a long life of labour and trial, to die in peace. On this latter point, I shall presently say more.

The three facts, just mentioned, do not amount to absolute demonstration; but they must pass for all they are fully worth. To a person, like myself, outside of his Church, and an unexcited observer of

passing events in the community, they afford evidence of no slight character. I am thankful, this day, that I have never felt it in my power to pass a severe judgment, in view of the whole aspect of the case, so far as it has been presented to my mind. I have seen enough, however, and have heard enough, to make me say, with David, "Let us fall into the hand of the Lord, for his mercies are great; but let me not fall into the hand of man."

Having thus noticed some of the things suggested by the spirit of the text, I now proceed to the more pleasant task of considering the characteristic traits of the departed Bishop.

The qualities that gave to Bishop Doane his great influence, and enabled him to accomplish so much service, seem to me to be summed up under three classes: intellectual vigour, an indomitable will, and strong personal attractions.

1. God gave the Bishop a fine mind. He was a man of mark in intellectual operations. His mind was clear and vivid, of varied resources, and highly cultivated. His perceptions were quick. He possessed the *vis fervida ingenii*. Not so much the logician as the rhetorician, he yet never lacked argument to attain his ends. His rich talents were moulded by common sense, and by an enlarged knowledge of human nature. In an emergency, his intellect soared highest. In fact, one of Bishop Doane's

peculiarities of greatness consisted in always equalling the occasion. He saw what was to be done, and could do it, and did it. He was adroit, when it was necessary to be adroit. The lawyers said that he could have beaten them all, if educated a lawyer; and military officers affirmed that he would have made a grand general in war. Far-seeing, clear, quick, bold, always the centre of the campaign, his mind, especially in emergencies, moved in flashes, whilst his right arm thundered in action. The fertility of his resources testified to superior endowments. His was the activity of spirit. His restless mind found no time for repose; and he was ready for every kind of service proper for him to perform. His mind was highly cultivated. He was at home in English literature. The adornments of the scholar graced his learning, and varied knowledge mingled with his theological attainments. All who came in contact with Bishop Doane, felt the power of his intellect. Nor were his opponents unwilling to acknowledge his commanding mental gifts.

2. Bishop Doane had a *wonderful strength of will.* He was a man of firm purpose; resolute to be, to do, and to suffer. He could not be second where he had a right to be at all, nor subordinate in anything where a share of work fell to his hands. It was a privilege for him to be *beforehand.* His will was indomitable. The Church, as the State, needs these

men of strong will. Every community needs them. Men of weak will have their place; and generally they go through life with fewer enemies, and are blessed with the gentler virtues. But men of will are the men of mark, the men of deeds.

It was this will-power that gave to Bishop Doane his *energy*. Energy does not necessarily belong to high intellect. It is not a mental gift or operation. It belongs to the heart. Its spring is in the affections, or "active powers," according to the philosophers. Bishop Doane's energy was a *fire never out*. It is said that, at the central depot at Bordentown, a reserve engine is always kept with fuel ignited, ready for the emergencies of the road. An ever-ready locomotive in energetic activity was this Bishop; with large driving wheels, and to each wheel a panting cylinder. His will, stronger than steam-power, generated energy in the soul.

His *self-denial* was associated with his will. What he determined to do, he omitted no means to bring to pass. The end must meet the beginning; and by God's grace success must crown the plan. In labours he was abundant. No wind, no rain, no cold, could keep him from his appointments. He has been known to cross the Delaware when the brave heart of the ferryman dissuaded from the peril. He could submit to all privations in the discharge of duty. He could sleep anywhere; in his chair, at his writing-table, in

the car, or steamboat, or wagon. And after working for twenty hours, the sleep of the other four could well be taken without choice of place. His will outworked his frame, in urging to laborious self-denial of every kind for the Church's sake.

It was strength of will that gave the Bishop his *perseverance.* Many a man would have quailed where he was fresh to go forward. Like the workman at the anvil, he would wield the hammer all day, could the last stroke but perfect the work. He withstood with persevering defiance an opposition which would have overborne almost any other man. He clung fast to Burlington College, when many advised him to surrender it; and whatever may be the ultimate fate of that institution, it could not die whilst the Bishop lived. His perseverance had its ramifications of care and of industry in every part of the diocese.

His will was a strong element in the Bishop's success as a *disciplinarian.* Burlington College and St. Mary's Hall were under the most rigid government. The two institutions, so near each other, required watchful supervision, and all the appliances of the wisest discipline. Bishop Doane was unremitting in the fidelity of his oversight. His rules were rigid, minute, and wise; and they were efficiently administered. The peremptoriness of authority was blended with parental affection; and in all the outgoings of

his love, the young men and maidens knew that a large will encircled a large heart.

3. *Remarkable social traits* contributed to Bishop Doane's extensive influence. He was a man of amiable disposition and of warm feelings. His courtesy gained him friends everywhere. Generous to the poor; kind to all; abounding with pleasant conversation; genial and free; accessible at all times; he was the life of the social circle: and it is no wonder that his personal endearments won hosts of attachments. At the same time, it must be admitted that many people did not like him, partly from prejudices, partly from his personal complacency, and partly from causes already alluded to. But it cannot be denied that Bishop Doane was eminently blessed with faithful and devoted friends, in his congregation, in his diocese, and throughout his whole church.

Let it be noticed, to his honour, that *vindictiveness* was not a part of his social character. He keenly felt the disparaging estimate of others, but rarely did others detect any resentment. He would meet his adversaries with the usual courtesies of life, at home or abroad; and many have been "the coals of fire" which his condescension has placed upon their heads.

One of the most winning traits of Bishop Doane's character was his love of children. He gained their hearts. He was the little one's friend. What prettier sight than to see the grandfather, hand in hand

with his fair, curly grandchild, prattling together through the streets? The Bishop loved little children, and all the little children loved the Bishop.

Bishop Doane was happily outliving the opposition that had formerly existed against him. One of his greatest misfortunes was in the number of flatterers that surrounded him—not flatterers always by intention, but rendering their homage in too open and dangerous a form. His susceptible social nature was under the constant temptation to "think more highly of himself than he ought to think." Others may paint, if they choose, the infirmities of his social character in darker colours. I have given the outline as I have seen it. Never intimate with the Bishop. I have nevertheless known him and studied him for twenty-three years; and although his nature had its faults, it was a noble one. The secret of his influence and success in life is to be found in the three classes of endowments I have mentioned,—a vivid intellect, a strong will, and the social charms of his personal presence.

As a CHURCHMAN, Bishop Doane was of the highest grade. In my humble judgment, he departed from the *via media* of the English Church of the Reformation; nor have I have hesitated to oppose his doctrines in speech and through the press. Dr. Pusey's influence was an injurious influence; and many have thought that the Bishop returned from England with

his views confirmed on some points which had better have been abandoned. It is nevertheless true that the Church of England has always had a succession of that class of churchmen, with which Bishop Doane delighted to identify himself. Death is a leveller of doctrinal, as well as personal, distinctions. And a High Churchman, when he comes to die, is wont to exalt the doctrinal views entertained by Low Churchmen. Nothing but Christ gives comfort in the last hour. An affecting view of a High Churchman's death is given in Bishop Doane's sketch of his friend, Dr. Montgomery, in Dr. Sprague's Annals of the American Pulpit; and it is the more affecting because it substantially records the reported exercises of the Bishop's own mind. Ceremonies, church order, denominational peculiarities, and the minor incidents of human apprehension, disappear with the opening light of another world. When Christ is seen to be "all and in all," the glory of His grace dims the view of all things else, as the light of the sun dismisses the stars.

As a Bishop, the departed prelate will undoubtedly be acknowledged by his Church to be one of her greatest sons. So he was. He magnified his office. His work was done on a great scale. He was personally, everywhere, in his own diocese; and his writings were circulated widely in every other diocese. He was the prominent man in the House of

Bishops. He could outpreach, outvote, and outwork the whole of his brethren in the Episcopate. He was a sort of Napoleon among Bishops. It was after he crossed Alps of difficulties, that he entered upon the campaigns of his highest renown. The bridge of Lodi and the field of Marengo were to him the inspirations of heroism, and the rallying time of mightiest strategy. Bishop Doane was, perhaps, better adapted to the English Church than to the American. His prelatical notions suited a monarchy more than a republic. In the House of Lords, he would have stood among the foremost of Lord Bishops. He of Oxford would not have ranked before him of New Jersey. Bishop Doane was a good deal of an Anglican in his modes of thought and his views of ecclesiastical authority. Had he lived in the days of Charles, he would have been a Laudean in prelatical and political convictions—super-Laudean in intellect, and sub-Laudean in general ecclesiastical temper. My own sympathies are altogether with the evangelical, or Low Church Bishops, as are those of the vast majority of this audience. I do not believe in the doctrines of lofty Church order and transmitted grace, so favourably received in some quarters. But this is a free country; and the soul by nature is free, and has a right to its opinions, subject to the authority of the great Head of the Church. Bishop Doane had a right to his; and he believed himself to be, in a peculiar sense, a

successor of the Apostles. He is one of the few American Bishops who has had the boldness to carry out his theory, and to call himself an Apostle. He delighted in his office. Peter was to him the example of rigid adherence to the forms of the concision, whilst Paul was his example in enduring suffering for the extension of the Church. With an exalted view of his office, he lived, and laboured, and died. In this spirit, he encountered all his hardships and perils; and when, as in the case of danger in crossing the Delaware, he jumped into the frail skiff, inviting the ferryman to follow, it was in the same spirit of "APOSTOLUM VEHIS." Bishop Doane was, in short, as complete a specimen of a High Church Bishop as the world has seen, and in some respects he was a model for any class of Bishops at home or in mother England.

As a RECTOR, Bishop Doane was precisely what might be expected of a man of his character. He was earnest, active, fertile in expedients, a faithful visitor of his people, and a friend of the poor. He seemed to be always in the right place at the right time. He went about doing good, and was known in Burlington as rector more than Bishop.

As a PREACHER, no bishop surpassed Bishop Doane. He has published more sermons than the whole House of Bishops — able sermons, which will be perpetual memorials of his intellectual powers, and of his zeal for the Church. These discourses are on a great

variety of topics, but they contain much scriptural truth, mingled with his own peculiar views of apostolic order, sacramental grace, and ecclesiastical unity. His sermon before the last General Convention of the Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, was the occasion of one of the greatest triumphs he was ever permitted to enjoy. When his discourses and diocesan addresses are collected into a series of volumes, they will be found to be a treasury of High Church doctrine and order, which no bishop, nor all the bishops of his way of thinking, could equal. I have read most of his productions, and, although often disagreeing with him in sentiment, I have never failed to notice his intellectual vigour, his zeal for his church, and his unction for the episcopate.

As an Orator, Bishop Doane excelled most of his brethren. His best efforts were fine and impressive. His voice was loud, and when he chose, well modulated. His gesticulation was animated and strong. His clear blue eye glowed with vivacity; and his words worked their way into the minds and hearts of his audience. Bishop Doane showed an adaptation to the masses, which many speakers in the sacred desk so much lack. He was a whole-souled, commanding orator, when great occasions summoned forth his powers. The two best specimens of his delivery, within my own observation, were at Mrs. Bradford's funeral, and at the celebration of the last birthday of Washington. Nothing could be more appropriate

and more effective, for the ends of oratory, than was his manner on those occasions. At times, I am told, that he did not do himself justice; but *he had it in him*, and it generally came out. Who of the citizens of Burlington, that heard him on the 22d of last February, did not recognize the voice, the manner, and the presence, of a great popular orator?

As a WRITER, Bishop Doane's style was peculiar. It was ornate, pithy, Saxon. It was a style of his own. It would not suit most men. Few ought to presume to imitate it. But it suited himself Many admire it. It had the great merit of clearness. No one ever misunderstood him, although his punctuation was as remarkable as his style. He was a ready writer; accomplishing with ease all that he undertook, and commonly justifying, in the productions of his pen, the highest expectations. If his higher occupations had not called him away from the pursuits of literature, he would have ranked among the finest poets of the age.

In the various points of view in which his characteristics have been now considered. Bishop Doane was a remarkable man. And his death was an harmonious termination of a long and useful life. Let us meditate, now, upon some of the circumstances of his departure.[1]

[1] If this detailed narrative of the circumstances of the Bishop's death may seem, to some readers, too minute, it must be remem-

He died in the midst of his work. His preaching, during his last semi-annual Visitation, was unusually acceptable. Several of my own brethren in the Presbyterian ministry have spoken, in glowing terms, of one of his sermons in West Jersey. His Episcopal appointments in Monmouth County (the last one at Freehold), were fulfilled in the midst of rain and high winds, and sometimes in an open wagon. His services, as was his custom, were arranged two or three for each day. Work was his delight; and at his work he met the premonitions of death. With his Episcopal staff in his hand, he received the wound of the last enemy,—not from behind, but face to face.

Another kind token of Providence towards the Bishop was, that *he died at home.* Riverside opened its massive doors to him for the last time; and entering its hall, he found a resting-place in its genial study. After partaking of a slight repast, he retired to bed, never to rise from it. The magnificent mansion, where he had projected his enlarged schemes, written his numerous sermons, and entertained with profuse hospitality his hosts of friends, was the fit place for Bishop Doane to die. And Riverside had the privilege of his death and funeral.

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bered that, at the time the Discourse was delivered, every incident was demanded by the state of public sympathy in the community.

God also permitted the Bishop to arrange what was wanting to the *completion of his Episcopal work*. During his sickness he conversed, for some hours, about the affairs of his Diocese; and gave directions, and left memoranda, respecting its approaching exigency. On one of these occasions, he had a long interview with the Hon. *Abraham Browning*, of Camden; shortly after which, a paroxysm of delirium occurred. God spared him, however, to complete all the necessary arrangements in the affairs of his church.

The time of Bishop Doane's death was well ordered in Providence. Had it occurred a few years before, a cloud of gloom would have rested over his grave; and the inheritance of his good name might have been unredeemed from the tax-list of evil report. But the aspect had been changed. His honours had returned to him; and, as if in anticipation of his last end, his fellow-citizens had invited him to appear before them once more in an address. On the birth-day of Washington, old memories were revived; and he, who had so often, in former years, addressed the people of Burlington, in its Lyceum, again made its Hall vocal with his eloquence, and again received the applause of his friends and neighbours. His diocese, also, was in a prosperous condition, and he was taken away from evil to come. In the judgment of his best

friends, it was a good time for him to die. And God knew it, above men.

God was good to the Bishop in *surrounding him, during sickness, with the kindest comforts and care.* His sons were present with all the activities of filial devotion; one of them from the beginning to the end, by day and by night. The other, who had become a Romanist, received forgiveness for all the *personal* pain the father and the Bishop had received. This was one of the incidents that must have given to the death-chamber a sublimity. His faithful physician did all that skill could do; and the noble and venerable physician of Bristol, and the most distinguished from Philadelphia, freely gave the contributions of the medical profession. The tenderest female hearts were around about the sufferer, — without which, indeed, no death-bed can be what man expects and wants. It was well ordered that she, who had the first claims to be present, was absent; for could feeble health well bear those scenes of sorrow?[1] God was merciful in all these incidents.

The Bishop, too, *had his reason at the last.* It is

[1] Just after the Delivery of this Discourse, I received a letter from a relative in Rome, from which the following is an extract: "In coming out of church to-day, we met Mrs. Doane, who, I thought, looked remarkably well. She almost immediately began to speak of the Bishop, and expressed her intention to return home."

sad to die with a beclouded mind. Various intervals of delirium had occurred, especially about the middle of the attack. In these, the Bishop's mind was on the affairs of his diocese, or his class-room, or personal concerns. Disease struck its pains in every nerve, and blood-vessel, and muscle of the body, dethroning the intellect, for a time, from its high dominion. But it recovered its place before death, and he conversed with relatives and friends, took a last loving farewell of all, and prepared for the conflict, "faint yet pursuing."

The Bishop was *strengthened to die in peace*. Partaking of the communion, early in the morning of his last day on earth, he was refreshed by the service, and at its close, pronounced with a clear voice the blessing. He then composed himself for the final struggle. The last words, as taken down by the family physician, were: "I die in the faith of the Son of God, and the confidence of His One Catholic Church. I have no merits — no man has, but my trust is in the mercy of Jesus."

Thus departed, at noonday, April 27th, this distinguished Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. "Let us fall into the hand of the Lord, for his mercies are great; but let me not fall into the hand of man." Bishop Doane has passed away from human judgments, to the judgment seat of God!

LESSONS AT THE GRAVE.

Before separating, it is well for us, as immortals, to try to learn a few lessons at a Bishop's grave.

I. *Death comes alike to all.* My hearers, are you ready to die? Ye of gray hairs, or in vigorous manhood, or in sublime youth, are ye prepared to meet your God? What a solemn thing to be coffined away from human sight, and then lowered down into a chamber, digged out for our last abode, with six feet of earth thrown on to roof it in? Ye living mortals, your funeral day is at hand. Come, prepare for the change; for the change is coming.

II. *The honours of this world are fleeting nothings.* Crown and crosier, sceptre and cross, vestment of distinction, and laurel of renown, are all left behind. When the spirit enters its new existence, if it has been redeemed by blood, it carries with it graces of righteousness, which abide forever. But earthly honour and power, the elevation of outward position. the distinctions of learning and rank, all the superficial framework of the vanity of the world, and all its real glory, whatever there be of it, sink away like a vision of delirium." O, godly poor, be contented! Worldly, or unworldly high ones, fear!

III. *Let us grow in circumspection,* both ministers and people. Religion cultivates prudence. It enjoins its disciples to "walk in wisdom towards them that

are without." In our unguarded moments, we are in danger of going astray, and often are led to do what we have charged ourselves to forbear. Human resolutions are frail; but God can, and will, give strength to all whose eyes, in tearful penitence, plead for help and mercy. A single act of indiscretion, or of guilt, may be followed by the heavy retribution of embittered calumny, or unrelenting exaggeration. The officers of the Church, above all others, should be above suspicion. "See that ye walk circumspectly; redeeming the time, because the days are evil."

IV. *Let us not be weary in well-doing.* Activity is the law of Christian life. The new birth inspires high motive, and nurtures the spirit of self-denial and suffering. Church idlers are a spectacle to the profane. Shall Christians be "created unto good works," and not perform them? Shall the grace of the Spirit plead in vain? Shall the example of Christ and the blood of his cross be without efficacy to those who profess to follow the one and to be washed in the other? Brethren, "be not weary in well-doing; for in due time ye shall reap, if ye faint not."

V. "*Charity is the bond of perfectness.*" Love binds all the graces together; and all the graces are formed out of love. The same Divine likeness is impressed upon them all. Charity covereth a multitude of sins. Charity suffereth long, and is kind. If our fellow-

creatures transgress, can they not be forgiven? Does not God, for Christ's sake, pardon the penitent? And shall man be forever hard-hearted and unrelenting against his fellow-sinners? May the Lord clothe us, dear brethren, with every grace, and girdle our garments with love! Charity is compatible with Truth and Justice. "Put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness."

VI. *A man's work survives his life.* A useful and active Christian leaves imperishable memorials. Good done in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, can never be buried. It survives with a multiplication of its power. It sends down accumulated influences to distant generations. It lives forever. Sermons preached, institutions established, catechisms taught, aid given to the poor — all virtue, of whatever kind, lives in perpetuity. And so, alas! does evil, unless counteracted and circumvented by Providence and grace.

VII. *Let us learn, as Churches, to sympathize with each other more.* If we all love Christ, what interests have we apart? Why need we misrepresent each other's doctrines, depreciate each other's worthies, and call in question each other's piety? If there be separate folds, is there not also a large field in common where all the good Shepherd's sheep may feed on the green pastures and drink the pure waters? I have had my share of controversy, but have never relished

it, and dislike it with increasing aversion. We need not, we must not surrender our principles; but what is called principle is often nothing more than denominational interest. Brethren, our hearts beat together to-day. We mourn in sympathy. Can we not in sympathy live together and work together?

VIII. *The passport to Heaven consists, not in merit or station, but in simple faith.* The Gospel condition of eternal life is the same to men of all nations and generations. The Bishop enters heaven in the same way with the sexton. The saints become one in Jesus Christ, in the same true and living way, opened alike to every creature. In dying, the Christian goes back to the first principles of his religion. As he began with Christ, so he ends with Christ. The conquest of death is won through faith. No forms and ceremonies; or liturgical repetitions; or imposition of hands; or baptismal, or immersional regeneration; or Church connection; or office-bearing, be it that of Pope, Bishop, Priest, Deacon, or Minister, Elder, Superintendent, or Class-leader — ever have, or ever will, or ever can, save a single soul. Bishop Doane, in his dying hour, had a clear conviction that Christ was the only hope for a sinner, lost by nature. This doctrine was fundamental in his theology; and no one taught it more beautifully than in that immortal hymn of his own composition:

"Thou art the Way; to thee alone,
From sin and death we flee;
And he who would the Father seek,
Must seek him, Lord, by thee.

"Thou art the Truth; thy word alone
True wisdom can impart;
Thou only canst inform the mind,
And purify the heart.

"Thou art the Life; the rending tomb
Proclaims thy conquering arm,
And those who put their trust in thee,
Nor death nor hell shall harm.

"Thou art the Way, the Truth, the Life;
Grant us that way to know;
That truth to keep, that life to win,
Whose joys eternal flow."

May Heaven grant to us all, brethren, the right to live and die in the truth of the Apostolic Church, and to find our title to Heaven in the apostolic words: "BELIEVE ON THE LORD JESUS CHRIST, AND THOU SHALT BE SAVED."

Can all allusion be omitted to that remarkable funeral?

The burial of Bishop Doane was one befitting his position. A Bishop must be buried as becometh a Bishop. The funeral procession was one of sublime solemnity. No one, who saw it, can ever forget it. The day and the season were opportune with the brightness and sadness of the last of April. The coffin borne aloft on the shoulders of fellow-mortals;

the royal purple of the pall, fringed with white, and fluttering out to the wind like the motions of a stricken eagle; the crosier overlaying the body with the emblem of Episcopal authority; the bereaved family lamenting with Christian lamentation the father of the household; the threescore of surpliced clergy following their silent Chief with uncovered heads; the Governor, Chief Justice, and other dignitaries of the State; the students of the College with badges of grief, and the weeping young ladies of the Hall arrayed in full mourning, true-hearted representatives of their sister-graduates all over the land; the long line of distinguished strangers and of sympathizing fellow-citizens; the tolling of all the church bells, and of the city bell; the immense gathering of spectators around St. Mary's Church and the grave; — everything was as *impressive as life and death could make it.*

The high task I have attempted, has been imperfectly performed. I am ready to meet its responsibilities before God and man. My offering of Mayflowers, fragrant with the freshness of their gathering, has been laid upon the new-made grave;—flowers plucked by a Puritan's hand, and placed *in memoriam* over the dust of a great Episcopal Bishop.

CAPTURE OF TICONDEROGA, 1759.

An Historical Discourse, in Centennial Commemoration of the Capture of Ticonderoga, 1759, delivered at Ticonderoga, N. Y., October 11th, 1859.

TO

THE CITIZENS OF TICONDEROGA

AND THE

VISITORS AT LAKE GEORGE,

This Discourse

ON THE

HISTORY OF LOCAL EVENTS

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

It is proper to state that the Author of this Discourse, being accustomed to spend a few weeks in the summer, for recreation, at Lake George, was naturally led to investigate the local history of that section of country. Hence this Historical Discourse, whose military aspect is out of the line of his general pursuits.

The sources of authority, consulted by the author in the preparation of the Discourse, are chiefly the original, official documents, furnished from the Archives of the State and War Departments in London and Paris, and printed by the authority of the State of New York, under the title of "New York Colonial Documents." The quotations, when not otherwise marked, are always from the volumes of this historical treasury. Other works are also referred to in the foot notes.

C. V. R

Burlington, N. J., November 30th, 1859.

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE.

The promontory between these two beautiful lakes, in the North American wilderness, is grand by nature and renowned in history. The Architect of worlds gave shape, as well as sublimity, to the landscape, uniting the rocks, and streams, and forests of Ticonderoga in a physical configuration suited to a theatre of great events.

Nature becomes a prophet by the inspiration of God's hands. The earth's outlines are commissioned with foreknowledge, to declare the purposes of their original destiny. The magnificent river, the broad bay, the defiant mountain-pass, the extensive plain, the encircling lake, the roaring waterfall, the jutting peninsula, send up to distant ages many-voiced predictions of their future importance in local and universal history.

The promontory of Ticonderoga was by nature prefigured for uses in war. For centuries, it stood like an Indian chief, born and trained to his destiny, watching both lakes with bow and arrow in hand. The spirit of military achievement was early en-

camped upon its rocks, tented beneath its woods, refreshed in its streams, and inspired by its positions of strategy. The oracle of the Indian, with savage omens, was enshrined within these forests. Here, the shrill clarion of gallant France has echoed its onsets and its victories; and the martial music of sturdy old England and of the Colonies has here thundered to the charge, or sounded retreats and requiems. Ticonderoga was baptized for war; — a prophet, indeed, but a warrior, too; a very chieftain of the old frontiers! We hail thee in 1859, Veteran of many battles; not in the pride of thy fiery youth, nor for thy deeds of death; but, rebaptized with the spirit of peace, in the centennial soberness of age!

It is just a century since Ticonderoga fell into the possession of the Colonies by its forced evacuation on the part of the French, in 1759. History invites us to remember the first triumph of American arms upon this memorable promontory. Let it be our aim to recall the scenes and expeditions, of which Ticonderoga was the centre; to discuss some of the principles involved in the events enacted in the region: and to carry away with us some of the impressions nurtured by the lapse of a century.

I. The Indian Gateway.

The promontory of Ticonderoga was the OLD INDIAN GATEWAY from the Iroquois country of the South to

the regions of the North and of the East. Before the Celtic Frenchmen came, the Indians were in possession here. The sons of the forest were invested with proprietorship by rights of nature and physical power. The Great Spirit had spread out for them, in North America, a vast and splendid inheritance, long unclaimed by a rivalling civilization.

In the progress of centuries, the Iroquois rose to be the chief nation of Indian history. Their wigwams and council-fires were in Central and Western New York; but their hunting-grounds included parts of Pennsylvania, of Virginia, of the Northwestern Territory, and of Canada. Their confederation, as five nations, dates back to about the year of our Lord 1500, or a century before the Dutch began to encroach upon their forests and streams. During the whole period of Iroquois domination, and anterior to it, the Ticonderoga pass was the outlet for their expeditions of war in this direction. "Bald Mountain"[1] was then, as now, natural in its scalped and savage desolation. Vegetation shunned its rocks; and the Indian canoe, in gliding by its frowning height, knew that Che-on-de-ro-ga, the outlet of the lake, was near. If the promontory be a Gate, opening between the two lakes, or countries, then beautiful Lake George may

[1] Now known by the romantic name of *Rogers' Slide*. The old name ought to be restored to this mountain. "Rogers' Slide" might be retained as *part* of "Bald Mountain."

be called the meadow, or prairie, beyond it; whilst the outlet was the dangerous and rugged water-path, leading down from the upper prairie through the Gate to the lower meadow. In these solitudes of woods and waters, the Iroquois wandered. As peaceful hunters, or warlike scouts, the ancient forests knew their trail on the spring grass, on the autumn leaves, or on the feathery snow. The "Gate" opened either way, towards the Champlain or the Georgian prairie; and turning upon its harsh hinges, the winds of war oft swung it to and fro, creaking with the wails of death. On either post hung a scalp, dangling from the antlers of a deer, or transfixed by the point of the flinty knife.

This promontory was thus, by position, pre-eminently war-ground. The Iroquois went through its passes, to battle with the Hurons and Algonquins, who in turn boldly sought the hostile Iroquois through Ticonderoga. The trails of ancient days witnessed many a deed of woe upon the blood-stained soil; and shadowed in the lakes by day, or by the light of the stars at night, canoes have glided through the deep with paddles plied by savage passions.

The outlet, Che-on-de-ro-ga,[1] was familiar to the admiring tread of the Indians. Within that mile of

[1] This is the Indian name, corrupted to Ticonderoga, meaning "Sounding Waters." The French name was "*Carillon*," expressing the same idea, or more particularly a "chime."

falls and foam, what grandeur has inspired the passing aborigines! The present road follows, in the main, the old French military road between the Upper and Lower Falls, and deviates from the waters of the outlet. Methinks the Indian trails may have skirted closer to the dashing stream!

The Lake narrows about a mile above the Upper Falls, and engineers for itself a channel among the meadows and hills. It soon reaches a rocky pass, romantic in configuration, about half-way to the Upper Falls. Here is a beautiful and lively *chute*, with several channels — the deepest to the west, close to the shore; and among those sharp rocks many a canoe has sped down, like an arrow from the bow, and safely reached the mark of the "Carrying Place." This first rocky pass is a sentinel outpost of alarm, where the lake arrays itself for the coming water-fray.

At the "Carrying Place," the rough strife begins. The war-notes rise in the air; the opposing waves rush, like Iroquois and Algonquins, to the contest; the dense ranks close fearfully upon each other; and the sound of many waters roars to the distance, like rolling thunder. The main course of the outlet, for more than a mile, is a series of rapids. So incessant are the little falls and descents, that the outlet resembles a water stairway, whose cascade steps, painted white with foam, reflect every colour of the sun.

The Indians, as they wander up and down, cen-

turies ago, on either side of Che-on-de-ro-ga, forget awhile the tumult of war, and rest their thoughts with sublime visions. Hark! a noise in the thicket suddenly reanimates savage life; and see! with straining eye and ear, the bow is bent between brawny arms.

Thus passed centuries, before the white man came. War-whoops sounding; waters splashing; arrows flying; forests overshadowing; birds soaring; wolves howling; deer affrighted; scouts exploring; tomahawks piercing; warriors dying; and the old GATE swinging northward and southward, to Iroquois and Algonquin.

In the mean time, the sun and stars kept their course in the skies; and Providence was preparing Ticonderoga for Celtic and Anglo-Saxon entrance.

II. CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION OF 1609.

The second series of historical events at Ticonderoga, was ushered in by the EXPEDITION OF CHAMPLAIN, in the year 1609. Authentic history now begins.

Before the Dutch had landed in New York, and before the Puritans had touched Plymouth Rock, Champlain stood upon the promontory of Ticonderoga. Hendrick Hudson entered the river now bearing his name, in "De Halve Maan,"[1] on the 3d of September, 1609; Samuel Champlain, in his little

[1] The Half Moon.

canoe, navigated the Iroquois Lake in July of the same year. It is, therefore, exactly two centuries and a half, or just two hundred and fifty years, since the French discoverer knocked at the old Ticonderoga gate. And his first knock was with the butt-end of an "arquebus."[1]

Champlain was the first man who used powder and ball in Iroquois territory, in the State of New York. The echo of the first gun through the forests, and over the mountains, and up the water-course of Ticonderoga, was from that arquebus, fired in 1609.

Another memorable characteristic of this expedition, consisted in its provoking the first contest on the soil between the white man and the Indian. Two Iroquois chiefs fell at Champlain's murderous discharge.

Yet another notable circumstance belongs to this expedition: the Iroquois continued ever after to be the implacable enemies of France. Transferring their Indian enmity to the new settlers at Quebec, they contributed more than any single agency, under Providence, in overthrowing the dominion of France in North America.

Discoverer, arquebus-firer, Indian aggressor, and stirrer of retribution, SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN'S name has an enduring connection with TICONDEROGA.

[1] An arquebus was a large, unwieldy sort of a gun, cocked with a wheel.

What brought the illustrious Frenchman here? Terrible war! At the head of twenty-four canoes of Indians, containing sixty warriors, he came from Quebec on a military expedition. Several months before setting out, he had met the "Algonmequin" savages a few leagues above Quebec, where he assured them that "they could judge whether he intended to make war or not, since he carried with him firearms, and not merchandise for traffic, as they had been given to understand."[1] And when the Iroquois warriors, perceiving their small numbers, sent two canoes, to learn of their enemies whether they wished to fight, Champlain's party replied, that "they desired nothing else."[2] War, and only war, had brought them to Ticonderoga.

Champlain gives the following account of the battle:

"The moment we landed, they [Champlain's Indians] began to run about two hundred paces towards their enemies, who stood firm, and had not yet perceived my companions, who went into the bush with some savages. Ours commenced calling me in a loud voice, and making way for me, opened in two, and placed me at their head, marching about twenty paces in advance, until I was within thirty paces of the enemy. The moment they saw me they halted, gazing at me, and I at them. When I saw them preparing to shoot at us, I raised my arquebus, and aiming directly at one of the three chiefs, two of them fell to the ground by this shot; one of their companions received a

[1] Les Voyages du Sieur Le Champlain, i., 180.

[2] "*Qu'ils ne désiroint autre chose*," i., 198.

wound, of which he died afterwards. I had put four balls in my arquebus. Ours, on witnessing a shot so favourable to them, set up such tremendous shouts, that thunder could not have been heard; and yet, there was no lack of arrows on one side and the other. The Iroquois were greatly astonished, seeing two men killed so instantaneously, notwithstanding they were provided with arrow-proof armour, woven of cotton thread and wood; this frightened them very much. Whilst I was reloading, one of my companions in the bush fired a shot, which so astonished them anew, seeing their chiefs slain, that they lost courage, took to flight, and abandoned their fort, hiding themselves in the depths of the forest, whither pursuing them, I killed some others. Our savages also killed several of them, and took ten or twelve prisoners. The rest carried off the wounded. Fifteen or sixteen of ours were wounded by arrows; they were promptly cured."[1]

The question, whether Ticonderoga was the exact locality mentioned by Champlain, has been commonly settled in the affirmative. The description corresponds; the latitude is the same; and the spot is marked on Champlain's map as "the place where the Iroquois were defeated." Besides, Champlain seems to have pursued the enemy as far as the lower waterfall. In his account, he says:

"I saw other mountains to the south, not less high than the former; only that they were without snow. The Indians told

[1] A full account of the battle between Champlain's party and the Iroquois, may be found in "*Les Voyages de Champlain*," i. 198–202, which has been translated into English in the *New York Colonial Documents*, iii. 2–24. It may also be found in "*Home Sketches of Ticonderoga*," p. 18, an exceedingly able, interesting, and valuable historical pamphlet, by Mr. FLAVIUS J. COOK, a student of Yale College; 1859.

me that there we were to go to meet their enemies, and that they were thickly inhabited, and that we must pass by *a waterfall,— which I afterwards saw,* — and thence into another lake, three or four leagues long; and, having arrived at its head, there were four leagues overland to be travelled, to pass to a river, which flows towards the coast of the Iroquois, tending towards that of the Almouchiquois, and that they were only two days going there in their canoes, as I understood *afterwards* from prisoners of war that we took, who, by means of some Algonquin interpreters who were acquainted with the Iroquois language, conversed freely with me about all they had noticed."[1]

Another more important question is, whether Champlain was justified in heading this hostile expedition. If judged in the light of Christian civilization, the answer would be "No;" but in the night of backwoods opportunity, which threw a double darkness over war-ethics, Champlain traced "YES," with Indian blood, on the Ticonderoga rocks. His relations to the Algonquin tribes, however, did not necessitate his participation in all their feuds. Nor was the existing war one of defence. On the contrary, the expedition was an aggressive one, depending, to some extent, in its origin, upon Champlain's co-operation. In his previous exploration up the St. Lawrence as far as the island of "St. Eloy," near Lake St. Peter's, the Indians had witnessed, for the first time, the effects of firearms;[2] and probably convinced that, with an ally like Champlain, they could defeat their

[1] Champlain's Voyages, i. 196. [2] Ibid., i. 178.

old hereditary enemies, they persuaded him to accompany their little army, numbering only sixty warriors, far into the Iroquois territory.

Champlain undoubtedly conciliated the St. Lawrence Indians by his active agency in securing their victory. Adventurers generally would have pursued the same course. The temptation of new discoveries and explorations may have added to Champlain's military ardour on this memorable occasion. History pleads for some leniency in judging of the actions of public characters in similar circumstances.[1]

The expedition of 1609, with its incidents of right or wrong, brought a new name to Lake Iroquois, — European in the place of Indian, and prophetic of the universal change of dynasty, — a name given at *Ticonderoga*, and associated forever with these rocks as well as with the waters.

III. The Old French War.

A third series of events in the historical outline of Ticonderoga, is marked by the scenes and expeditions of the Old French War. The causes of these contests between England and France, had their origin afar off in the past. A very brief view,—

[1] The use of the arquebus against the bow and arrow was not an act of bravery or of magnanimity. Like the expedition itself, if defensible at all, it is only so by the terrible necessities and usages of war.

a mere glance at the overclouded and distant landscape,—must not be omitted on the present centennial occasion.

The boundaries between the two kingdoms, which were, in Europe, the common waters of a narrow channel, became still more intermingled in the Western world by the unsettled lines of nature's mysterious wilderness. Both England and France traced their titles to their transatlantic possessions over the graves of ancient voyagers, through the dust of partisan maps, amidst the darkness of confused treaties, under the wiles of perpetual encroachments. Finally, possession, which is stronger than claim, umpired to France Canada, and most of the valley of the Mississippi, and to England, her North American Colonies. England had chained her lion at the sea-shore: France had uncaged her eagle in the forests of the interior.

England, however, never surrendered her claim to the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. France was equally resolute in pressing her title to parts of New England and New York; the Governors of New France ever maintaining that all the country watered by streams flowing into the St. Lawrence and the great lakes, belonged to Canada. Under this latter claim, most of Northern and Western New York fell under French dominion.

The boundary contest, so far as New York was

concerned, was fought by diplomacy upon the territory of the Iroquois. Inasmuch as the hunting-grounds of these Indians extended by universal acknowledgment from Lake Champlain on the east, to lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, on the north and west, both parties laboured to show their title to be the protectors of these Indians, and the virtual sovereigns of their soil. Documentary history is filled with accounts of conferences and treaties with the Five Nations, attended with the usual quantity of wampum-belts, bead-strings, powder, rum, and eloquence. The testimony of history is, however, decisively on the side of the English. From the beginning, the Five Nations were on terms of friendship with Great Britain, and in a position of general hostility to France.[1] After disputing for half a century, England obtained a great advantage over France at the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, in which the Five Nations were acknowledged to be the "subjects of Great Britain." France had previously succeeded, at the treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, in obtaining the implied acknowledgment of her right to all the Mississippi Valley, watered by streams flowing into the Mississippi. England disowned the French interpre-

[1] Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, writing officially, in 1757, says: "Since the settlement of the Colony, the Five Nations have never been known to take up the hatchet against the English." X. 587.

tation of the treaty of Ryswick; France rejected the English interpretation of the treaty of Utrecht.

The Old French War was almost a continuation of the preceding contest. Notwithstanding the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the French pursued their schemes of territorial aggression with more spirit and resolution than ever. About this time the English turned their attention with new interest to the Ohio Valley. The Ohio Land Company, which was chartered in 1749, engaged Gist and Trent to explore the country up to the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, and into parts of Western Virginia and of Ohio. The French took measures to increase their power, in order to retain possession of the entire valley of the Mississippi. They launched a large war-vessel on Lake Ontario, strengthened their fort at Niagara, and commenced building a fort on the river Le Bœuf, in Northwestern Pennsylvania, where Waterford now stands. They also took possession of the fort which the Ohio Company was building on the present site of Pittsburg. The Governor of Virginia had already sent out Major Washington—God bless the young officer!—to remonstrate against the French encroachments. But the embassy was in vain. God's blessing-time had not yet come. Washington commenced his military life by abandoning Fort Necessity, and retiring behind the Alleghanies. The French dominion then ex-

tended over the whole valley of the Mississippi, from Canada to Louisiana. Not a military post, not an encampment, not a flagstaff, was owned by England in the mighty West.

Aroused at length, England resolves to win her way to western empire. Regulars are sent from Ireland and Scotland; and large provincial forces are gathered to strike a determined blow. Three expeditions were formed in 1755: one under Braddock, to capture the fort at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela; another under Shirley, to defend Oswego and to attack Niagara; and a third under Johnson, to attack Crown Point.

The wails of Braddock's defeat soon echo through the forests and mountains of Pennsylvania. The Colonies are filled with dismay. Has the God of battles forsaken the cause of liberty and Protestantism? Despair not! Reverses occur in war; defeats recover victory.

The expedition against Crown Point was undertaken for the recovery of rights of soil, long invaded by the French, and held adversely to the British, by the title of a fort. Fort St. Frederick had been erected on this Point in 1731 (originally on the opposite side of Lake Champlain), on lands belonging to the Iroquois, contrary to two stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht; first, that "the Five Nations were subjects of Great Britain," and secondly, that their

lands should be held "inviolate by any occupation or encroachment of France." Being on the highway to Canada, the possession of this fort was of the utmost importance to the Colonies; and one of the three expeditions had been, therefore, organized for its capture.

The first sound of the war that reached Ticonderoga, was the rustling of the wind, from the south, among the trees of the forest. A large provincial army was gathering at Albany, to march for the capture of Crown Point. A part of it is already at the Carrying Place, engaged in building a fort,[1] and in cutting a road to Lake St. Sacrament.[2] Dieskau's expedition is soon seen sweeping down Lake Champlain, with an army of three thousand men, rampant in the confidence of victory. Ticonderoga is as yet a wilderness, but its military eminence offers a good place for camping ground. Dieskau resolved to leave one division of his little army at Ticonderoga, and a

[1] Fort Edward.

[2] The French name of Lake George, was "Lake of the Holy Sacrament." For the origin of this name, the reader is referred to the author's Historical Discourse at the Centennial celebration of the Battle of Lake George, delivered in 1855, p. 41. In the same note will be found a defence of the name of *Lake George* against the fanciful name of *Horicon*, suggested by the great novelist Cooper, to meet his romantic purposes.

smaller one at the Two Rocks,[1] about fifteen miles farther on, whilst he himself advanced, with the remainder of his corps, through the South Bay,[2] to the American lines. If Fort Edward had been attacked, according to the original design, a triumph would have undoubtedly rewarded the heated valour of the French; but the Indians, who dread the cannon of a fort, refused to assist in the onset.

Dieskau then dashed on towards the English encampment at Lake George. Near the point of a mountain, still called "French Mountain," he arranged his forces to encounter the American detachment under Williams and Hendrick, which had been sent out to meet him. This detachment was terribly cut up and defeated; and the French hurried on, to enter the camp with the pursued. But the tide of war has already turned. The Yankee soldiers are there, behind rude entrenchments; they fight for

[1] The "Two Rocks" is a pass, about ten miles from Whitehall, which naturally attracts the attention of the traveller. N. Y. Col. Doc. X, 320, 341, 344, 383 [Map], 397, 709, 720, 914.

[2] Dieskau's line of march was not past the present site of Whitehall, as is set down on some of the American maps, but through the "*South Bay.*" Turning to the right, instead of going on to Whitehall, his bateaux and canoes passed beyond the new bridge, and moored at the extreme end of the bay, on its southwesterly side. The line is thus laid down in a map attached to the French narrative of the expedition. See Paris Documents in N. Y. Col. Doc. X, 720. The French documents call the bay "the *Great* bay." X. 320.

their country and their homes, and gain a notable victory at the camp of Lake George, on the 8th of September, 1755. The remnant of the dispirited French soldiers reach Ticonderoga on the 11th, and encamp upon its silent heights, to sleep away defeat and toil. The gallant Baron Dieskau never again saw Lake Champlain. Wounded and taken prisoner, he was soon after transported to Europe.[1]

The first military lesson taught by the Old French War, at Ticonderoga, was, "BOLDNESS WINS, ONLY WHEN FORTUNE FAVOURS."[2]

The scene changes. All is animation, now, at Carillon. Engineers come to survey its ground, and to line out the site of a fort. The axe rings upon the trees; the spade is struck into the rocky soil; the hammer sounds on the nail; the saw crashes through the timber; iron drills into the rock; the soldiers have become labourers and mechanics. If Johnson is busy at Lake George in the erection of Fort William Henry, shall Vaudreuil remain inactive at Carillon? No, an English fort at one end of the lake, shall find, face to face with it, a French fort at the other. The lilies shall be planted under the lion's eye.

[1] Dieskau survived several years. The impression stated in my note to the Lake George Discourse, that he died in 1757, is not correct. He was sent to England, by way of Boston (X. 440); and was exchanged at the peace of 1763. X. 340.

[2] Dieskau's motto was, "*Boldness wins.*"

A clearing was, until then, unknown to this promontory. Hitherto, the wild forests had rustled together in the freedom of solitude, and waved their branches in the unmolested lights and shadows of nature. As the work advances, the opening space lets in the sun to see the arts of war. The road from the lake has been already cut; and a military store and hospital are going up at the landing, simultaneously with a fort on the hill. A saw-mill is also begun at the falls.[1] The logs of the fort are now laid; the earth, cannon proof, is thrown in; the rude ramparts are fashioned; the intrenchment is ready; the bastions are completed. Amidst the cheers of the regulars, Canadians, and Indians, the standard of France is run up into the air, and its lilies of grandeur wave over the little stockade fort of Carillon!

Fort Carillon was commenced in September, 1755, soon after Dieskau's defeat. Vaudreuil, the Governor of Canada, writes, September 25th, 1755:

"The engineer has reported to me that the situation of Carillon is one of the best adapted for the construction of works capable of checking the enemy; that the suitable place for a fortification is a rock which crowns all the environs, whence guns could command both the river which runs from Lake St. Sacrament, and that leading to the Grand Marais and Wood Creek. I see no work more pressing and useful than this fortification: because it will enable me to maintain a garrison to stop the enemy in their march from Lake St. Sacrament, the immediate outlet of

[1] Paris Documents, X.

which is no more than a league and a quarter from that post; and I will be able to harass and fire on them pretty often within pistol range, for more than three-fourths of a league in a river, both on this and on the other side of the Carrying Place. I add, that it is of infinite consequence to hurry the work, as it is to be feared that the enemy will seize upon Carillon, of which it is certain he would employ every means to keep possession. I have given orders that men should set to work there, without a moment's delay. It would be highly necessary that this fortification should be finished this fall, and that it were possible to place a good battery there."[1]

The fort was originally a square fort, with four bastions, which were defended by a redoubt, situated on a hill that commands the fort.[2]

The Marquis of Montcalm writes:

"The fort consists of pieces of timbers in layers, bound together with traverses, the interstices filled in with earth. Such construction is proof against cannon, and in that respect is as good as masonry, and much better than earthen works; but it is not durable. The site of the fort is well adapted as a first line at the head of Lake Champlain. I should have wished it to be somewhat larger, capable of containing five hundred men, whereas it can accommodate, at most, only three hundred."[3]

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[1] Paris Documents in Colonial History, X., 325.

[2] Ibid., 414.

[3] Montcalm, X. 433. This account, written by Montcalm himself, shows that the fort was originally a wooden and earthen fort, like William Henry. It was, doubtless, afterwards strengthened with stone by the French, as they found leisure. The stone works, as now seen, were in part built by General Amherst, in 1759. The works were still further strengthened by the Americans in the war of the Revolution. The fort, as it now stands, is, therefore, different from the original structure of 1755–6.

The fort was provided with twenty guns, besides swivels and mortars. It was completed in September, 1756.[1]

In addition to the fort, Montcalm established a post at the Lower Falls, and a strong intrenchment at the Upper Falls, flanked by two bastions.[2] There was also an intrenchment to command the position near the present steamboat landing.[3]

A fort is an agitator in the military world. It not only invites assault, but is itself a centre of aggressive operations. Carillon, built for defence, is all ready to attack. It stands on the promontory, the enemy of Fort William Henry, by oath of position; its guns glowing for opportunity, its flag flapping its impatient folds, its encampment eager for the march.

The second military lesson, taught at Ticonderoga, in the Old French War, is, STRATEGY BEGETS STRATEGY.

Whilst the war between England and France was waging in other parts of the world, what of the two forts in the Northern wilderness? Shall Fort William Henry triumph? or shall the eagles of Lake George alight on the rampart of Carillon?

Montcalm had arrived from France in May, 1756.

[1] X., 480. [2] Ibid., 425. [3] Ibid., 470.

as Dieskau's successor. In June, he hastened to Carillon, to examine its defences. He carefully surveyed all the approaches to the fort, and made an exploring tour through the woods, with Chevalier de Levi, on the "Mohawk Road."[1] He formed a camp on the heights, of three hundred and thirty tents, and seventy log-houses, with three thousand troops here and at Crown Point.[2] But the American expedition of 1756 did not advance; it was dilatory and inactive, like that of the preceding year. General Abercrombie did not reach Albany until the end of June, and then delays occurred, which prevented any aggressive movement from Fort William Henry during the season.

In the meantime, Montcalm was determined to be busy elsewhere. Organizing a military expedition, he soon reached Frontenac, crossed Lake Ontario, and in a few days victoriously assaulted the two forts at Oswego. He took sixteen hundred prisoners of war, and captured thirty pieces of artillery, with a large amount of ammunition and military stores.[3] This bold exploit struck terror throughout the frontiers, even down to Albany, and undoubtedly contributed to arrest any military movements against Crown Point. Montcalm, on returning to Carillon, considered the practicability of attacking Fort William

[1] X., 433. [2] Entick's History, i. 471. [3] X. 444.

Henry; but finally it was concluded at a council, to be "too great a risk, lest they should be beaten, as they were last year, under Dieskau; so it was resolved to wait for the English, and see if they would come." [1] They did not come.

The winter of 1756 passed sluggishly at the French fort. Early in the spring of 1757, before the snow had left the mountains, or the ice melted in the lake, the war-fires began to blaze. A party of nearly two thousand Canadians and Indians, set out on snow-shoes against Fort William Henry, provided with scaling ladders and all the appliances used in a general assault. They first appeared before the fort, early on the morning of the 19th of March. The noise on the cracking ice was soon followed by the sharp sounds of the artillery of the garrison, which beat off the assailants. Four other brave assaults were equally unavailing; but the French succeeded in burning two sloops, all the bateaux, several storehouses, and most of the huts of the rangers.

This expedition had thoroughly explored the little fort; it was the scouting party of the larger expedition soon to be organized. The doom of Fort William Henry was sounded among the hills.

Montcalm skilfully organized his plans. His army

[1] VII. 239.

consisted of six thousand regulars and Canadians, and seventeen hundred Indians. The Indians arrived at Carillon on the 23d of July, from the North, by the way of the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain. In the language of one of the French missionaries among the Abenakis:[1] "Scarcely had we begun to distinguish the summit of the fortifications [at Ticonderoga], when our Indians arranged themselves in the order of battle, each tribe under its own ensign. Two hundred canoes thus formed in beautiful order, furnished a spectacle which caused even the French officers to hasten to the banks, judging it not unworthy of their curiosity."

The army is at last collected together; the cannon, bateaux, and provisions, are, with the greatest labour, transported by hands to Lake St. Sacrament.[2] The march is begun, by lake and land, towards Fort William Henry. As a dark storm-cloud rallies its scattered masses in the sky, by the beat of the loud thunder-drum, and the banners of lightning, so Montcalm's expedition of 1757, collecting together its elements at the mountains of Ticonderoga, moved through the valley of the lake, arrayed southwardly with woe and war.

The march is eminently successful. De Levi, with

[1] Father Roubaud. His Narrative may be found in Kip's Jesuit Missions, pp. 139–189.

[2] X. 647.

a large detachment of Canadians and Indians, cut his way through the forests, passing back of Bald Mountain, by way of Sabbath-day Point and Bolton, to the landing-place near the fort; whilst the boats reached their destination in safety, with the greater part of the Indians and regulars, headed by Montcalm. On their way down the lake, they met the wrecks of the barges, and the dead bodies of the troops, engaged in Colonel Parker's unfortunate expedition from Fort William Henry. Everything inspired courage in Montcalm's army. It landed, without any opposition, a short distance below Tea Island, on the second of August, 1757.

On the next day, the camp was formed farther up towards the fort. It was situated on the south side of the brook which enters the lake a short distance from the cove where the wreck of the "Caldwell" now lies. That little cove was called "Artillery Cove," because the cannon were there landed. The trenches were soon dug, and two batteries were opened. On the seventh day after the operations were begun, the trenches had been pushed as far as the gardens around the fort, and the third and last battery was being prepared. The Indians took great delight in the progress of the operations of the siege, and actively assisted in the trenches. They greatly admired the artillery and the dexterity of the gunners. One of their number, an Indian chief, under-

took to fire one of the guns, and pointing it against one of the angles of the fort, which had been assigned to him as a mark, he fortunately hit the very spot, amidst the applause of the wild sons of the forest. On being urged by some French officers to repeat the experiment, he declined, giving as a reason for his refusal, that he had reached that degree of perfection to which he had aspired, and did not wish to risk his reputation in a second trial.[1]

Fort William Henry, abandoned by its proper supports, and being already crippled in its defences, sent a flag of truce before the last battery of the enemy was opened, and obtained honourable terms of capitulation. The garrison was immediately removed to the intrenchments on the rocky hill where Fort George was afterwards built, and prepared to march in the morning to Fort Edward. But Indian thirst had become excited, and the revelry of vengeance coursed, or cursed, through the hearts of the savages. I pass over the scenes of slaughter. The Colonies were horrified even more than with Braddock's defeat. The war-cloud had burst over the captive garrison, and blood flowed like the swollen streamlets, poured by a storm into the lake.

The fort was demolished with axe and fire. The name of William Henry ceased to be known among

[1] Kip's Jesuit Missions, p. 173.

military fortifications. It has come down in history with the associations of a French triumph, an Indian massacre, and a splendid American hotel. Montcalm returned to Carillon in triumph. He had driven the English from Lake St. Sacrament. With the means of transportation for his cannon and stores, he might have flung back the cowardly Webb, from Fort Edward, and even sounded French clarions in Albany. But the work on which he went had been done, and done thoroughly. The fort on the southern shore of St. Sacrament was no more, whilst Carillon stood in the proud life of victory, the champion of the northern hills. Montcalm, reversing the defeat of Dieskau, had gathered the laurels of the lake, and, with them, large treasures of war.

Thus, the third military lesson, taught at Ticonderoga, in the Old French War, was, MILITARY GENIUS IS TERRIBLE IN ITS VICTORIES.

The reverses of the English in the campaigns of Europe and America, aroused the public opinion of the nation against the Ministry. The Duke of Newcastle had already been compelled to resign, and the great William Pitt had been called into power, first, for an interval of a few months, and now, again, in 1757, more permanently. New energies were at once inspired into the administration of public affairs, at home and abroad. The "Great Commoner's" sym-

pathies with the American Colonies, enabled him to summon a large military force into the field. Abercrombie was already in America; but Pitt selected Lord Howe as the virtual and efficient head of the new expedition against Crown Point.

On the 5th of July, 1758, an army of sixteen thousand men, with a large quantity of artillery, set out from the head of Lake George for Ticonderoga, in nine hundred bateaux and one hundred and thirty whaleboats.

Arise, arise, Carillon! Arise, or fall! Thy name of "Chime" can only be held by the thunder of artillery. The little garrison is on the alert. On July 1st, the regiments of La Reine, Guyenne, and Bearne, are marched up to the Carrying Place. On either side of the Lower Falls are posted the regiments of La Sarre, Royal Rousillon, Languedoc, and the first battalion of Berri; whilst at the fort the second battalion of Berri stands on guard.[1] This disposition of forces was not made with any serious expectation of arresting the progress of the British, but with a view to impede their march, and to take advantage of any disaster, or error, incident to the work of war.

It having been reported that the British intended to land near Bald Mountain, or perhaps even fall in the rear of the French, by the way of Trout Brook

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. X. 721, 737.

Valley, two detachments of volunteers, commanded by Captains Trépézet and Germaine, were sent, on the 5th, to watch the movements of the enemy, and to oppose, or harass, the disembarkment in that direction.[1]

The immense armament, however, faltered not at the bay or the precipice, but rowed on towards the outlet, somewhat uncertain about the exact point of landing, until finally the "Burnt Camp" is selected.[2] Some of the boats passed through the reedy shallows; some stopped at their edge; some rounded the little island in the present steamboat channel, and some continued through the *chute* to the Carrying Place.[3] The French fired a few volleys, at the distance of six hundred yards,—too far to do execution,—and then retired to their position at the Lower Falls.[4]

Abercrombie's host effected a landing without loss. The gallant Howe leaped ashore in the name of "England and King George;" a true representative of people and monarch, and the very embodiment of the spirit of a military expedition. The troops, after

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc. X. 721, 722, 738, 894.

[2] The Burnt Camp, or *Champ brulé*, was the place where M. de Contrecœur encamped in 1756. X. 894. It is the same locality that was afterwards known as "Lord Howe's Landing," and where the steamboat now lands.

[3] A New York regiment, and a part of the Jerseys, landed at the same time, near the French camp. [At the Upper Falls.] X. 734.

[4] X. 734.

being drawn up in military order, marched in the early afternoon, in four parallel[1] divisions, on the left of the outlet, towards the fort. Lord Howe headed the advanced column of the right centre. The sounding waterfall was a scout more unerring than a Mohawk, to give the general direction; but the line of march which had been adopted could not be preserved amidst the entanglements of the aboriginal forests, and the columns fall upon each other in some disorder. At this juncture, when about half-way to the Lower Falls, Howe's column, after crossing Trout Brook,[2] immediately encountered hostile troops, wandering on the opposite hill,[3] and apparently uncertain as to their course. They are the detachment of Trépézet, which, having seen the first division of the enemy's bateaux pass Bald Mountain, intended to oppose their landing, or at least prevent themselves from being cut off from their own army;[4] but, losing their way in the forests, they were now seeking their camp, perplexed and bewildered. A conflict immediately ensued. Nearly two hundred French were

[1] So Entick in his history, III, 252. The official despatch of Abercrombie says: "The regulars in the centre and the provincials on the flanks." X, 725.

[2] Trout Brook is called in the French despatches, "Bernes River," "Bernets River," and "Birney," on the same page. X, 738.

[3] X, 735.

[4] X, 735.

killed, or taken prisoners; a few only escaped. by wading through the rapids to the large island, and thence to the Falls.[1] But alas! among the eight of the British slain, Lord Howe, the army's hope. lay dead on the edge of the hill. Near the moaning waters of the reluctant brook. he ended his life-campaign. A thousand men on that day, and there. were less than one! Numbers vanish to ciphers. in problems of war. The living Howe, at the crisis of Ticonderoga, was a host, and a host's leader to victory; his corpse in the camp gave the mute watchword of coming woe. The army retreated with their fallen hero, to spend the night in a vigil of tears; whilst Nature, with uninterrupted glory, imaged her stars and her mountains in the quiet lake,—quiet on that calm July night as death itself, and bright as the hope of the resurrection.

The work of war must go on. On the 7th, Lieut.-Colonel Bradstreet marched, about noon, with 6000 men,[2] to take possession of the saw-mill; but the enemy, on their retreat, had burnt it and destroyed the bridge. Colonel Bradstreet secured the position.

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[1] X, 722, 747.

[2] X, 722. See also, "A Narrative of the Battle of Ticonderoga," by Dr. James Searing, of Long Island, a Surgeon in one of the Regiments; contained in the "Proceedings of the New York Historical Society for 1847," pp. 112–117.

and reconstructed the bridge. The whole army took up their quarters there for the night.

On the morning of the 8th, Engineer Matthew Clerk was sent to reconnoitre the enemy's intrenchments; and "on his report that the works could be carried, if attacked before they were finished, it was agreed to storm them that day."[1] The attack was begun under the folds of brave banners, and with drums and bugles that had often sounded victory. It was soon ascertained that "the intrenchments were not only much stronger than had been represented, and the breastworks at least eight or nine feet high, but that the ground before them was covered with felled trees, whose branches pointed outwards, and obstructed the advance of the troops."[2] On, battalion of Royal Americans! On, regiments of New England, New York, and New Jersey! On, brave Highlanders of Scotland, and English veterans of King George! "Forward!" was the morning watchword of that day of blood.

"Few, few shall part where many meet,
The turf shall be their winding-sheet,
And every sod beneath their feet
Shall be a soldier's sepulchre."

Fearfully well had Montcalm made his preparations. Earth and timber are choice materials in mili-

[1] Abercrombie, X, 726. [2] Ibid., 727.

tary defence. Ditches and embankments, felled trees and redoubts, supply formidable places of shelter to brave men, resolved to do or die. Three thousand soldiers had been, for two days, woodcutters, diggers, and wheelbarrowers; and on the third day, they stand with burnished guns to defend their works. The battalion of La Sarre occupies the left, towards the outlet; Royal Rousillon is in the centre; and Guyenne on the extreme right. Intermediate between the left and centre, lay Languedoc and Berri, and between the centre and right, La Reine and Bearne. Bourlamaque commanded on the left; De Levi on the right; Montcalm in the centre, and everywhere.[1]

Near the beginning of the action, an attempt was made by the English to enfilade the intrenchments in reverse, by some pieces of artillery floated down the river on two rafts, which had been constructed for that purpose; but the guns of the fort were soon brought to bear upon them, and one of the rafts was sunk.[2] This disaster compelled the retreat of other barges which the English had caused to advance, in the hope of turning the left of the enemy during the battle.[3]

The attack embraced four points along the line of

[1] X, 737. [2] X, 735, 740; also Dr. Searing, 116.
[3] Montcalm, X, 728, 745, 749, 723, 896.

the intrenchments, which extended over a quarter of a mile. Never did soldiers fight more bravely, or at greater disadvantage. The severest onset was against the French right on the Lake Champlain side. Here the Scotch Highlanders and English grenadiers performed prodigies of valour, and advanced close upon the abattis.[1] But valour, in front of entangling intrenchments, and concealed musketry and artillery, was on that day in vain.[2] Falling back to attack the centre once more, they were again repulsed; the banners of Royal Rousillon defied the storm. After another ineffectual effort on the French left, which was the most exposed point, the English and Americans retreated, between six and seven o'clock in the evening, with 1400 men wounded, and over 500 killed.[3] Among the latter, was the engineer, Clerk, who had advised the attack without sufficient reconnoissance.

Some remarkable providences connect themselves with Abercrombie's expedition. 1. In the first place must be noted, the influence of the death of Lord Howe. In consequence of this catastrophe, the army

[1] X., 748.

[2] The trees which had been cut down to form the abattis, left on open space, in front of the French lines, of about 350 feet; so that, while the French were concealed behind the intrenchments, the English were in full view.

[3] See MONTCALM'S Report of the Battle, X., 737, 738, 739. Also X., 748, in a letter to Vaudreuil.

returned, on the 7th of July, to the landing; whereas, if they had marched on, they would have found the lines of intrenchment just begun, and unable to arrest their progress.[1] 2. There was, virtually, no commanding officer. Abercrombie himself remained at the sawmill; and he might as well have been a sawyer as a general. Was it not remarkable that no head could be found to direct sixteen thousand men?[2] 3. In the third place, the energies of the Provincial troops were not fully brought out on the occasion. Abercrombie, like Braddock, had a contempt of the colonists, and had depreciated them ever since he assumed the command.[3] Putnam and Stark were on the field, but nothing is heard of them. The total number of killed was 576, and of these only 92 were provincials; of the 1421 wounded, only 261 were provincials. The regulars bore the brunt of the battle, in consequence of Abercrombie's prejudices. 4. Another providence was the entire absence of Indians among the French.[4] Six hundred warriors arrived only five days after the engagement.[5] Had these

[1] Montcalm says: "On the 7th, the entire army was employed at the works and abattis, roughly prepared on the previous night by the 2d battalion of Berri." X., 738.

[2] The official document does not mention the name of a single officer, during the battle. X., 725, 726. Bradstreet and Clerk had been mentioned previously.

[3] Bancroft, iii., 340.

[4] Doreil says, "There was not a single one of them." X., 745.

[5] On the 13th of July.

been present in the first conflict, at Lord Howe's death, hundreds of the British and Americans would have fallen, entangled in the woods.[1] Or could these savage warriors have been present to pursue Abercrombie's disorganized soldiers, as they fled back to their camp on Lake George, what additional slaughter would have defiled that terrible day![2]

The English, still fourteen thousand strong, fled before thirty-five hundred French and Canadians. On the following morning, the whole army re-embarked in their bateaux up Lake George, eighty boats being filled with the wounded,[3] and reached their encampment, at the head of the lake, the same night.[4]

Thus, the fourth military lesson taught at Ticonderoga, during the Old French War, was, NUMBERS, WITHOUT A HEAD, PERISH BEFORE THE POWER OF A WELL-ORGANIZED BAND.

The defeat of Abercrombie operated, like all reverses in a good cause, among the brave, in inspiring

[1] "I am certain, had the enemy three or four hundred Indians with them at the beginning of this rencounter, they would have beaten us and driven us to our bateaux." X., 735.

[2] Montcalm writes: "What a day for France, if I had had only two hundred Indians to let loose at the close of the action." X., 749.

[3] X., 896. The wounded were sent off the evening before.

[4] Dr. Searing says: "July 9th. The principal part of the bateaux arrived at Fort William Henry at seven o'clock in the evening, and again encamped." New York Hist. Proceedings, 1847, p. 117.

the resolution that, what ought to be done, must be done. Fort Carillon ought to fall, and it must fall. Canada ought to be conquered, and it must be conquered. The great purpose of gaining possession of Canada was thus established with crowning energy in the minds of the British rulers and of the American people. "No talk of peace," writes Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada; "on the contrary, the English will absolutely have Canada, and are to attack it at various points."[1]

Three expeditions were organized in 1759, whose destiny was Quebec and Montreal. One division of the British forces was to sail for the St. Lawrence, under the command of Wolfe; the main branch of the army was to pass through Lake George, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point, under General Amherst, who had conducted the successful expedition against Cape Breton the preceding year, and who had succeeded General Abercrombie in the command; and a third, under Prideaux, was to co-operate with the other two, after capturing Fort Niagara, by entering the St. Lawrence through Lake Ontario.

Montcalm early foresaw the triumph of the English. Writing to Marshal de Belle Isle, on April 12th, 1759, he remarks: "Canada will be taken this campaign, and assuredly during the next, if there be not some unforeseen good luck, or a powerful diversion

[1] X., 947.

by sea against the English colonies, or some gross blunders on the part of the enemy."[1] Again, he said: "If the war continue, Canada will belong to the English, perhaps this very campaign, or the next."[2] France had neglected to reinforce her crippled regiments.

The large armament, collected under Lord Amherst, took the usual route to Albany, Fort Edward, and Lake George. A fort, called Fort George, was built by Amherst lingering at the head of the lake.[3] After the usual waste of time, the expedition, consisting of 12,000 men, with artillery and stores, set out in boats on the 21st of July. A landing was effected without opposition at the point, above the present landing, on the eastern shore of the lake.[4] The advantage of this route to the fort consisted in its soon joining the well-travelled road from the Carrying Place to the lower falls, without risking opposition at landing. The point itself formed a bay, where the army could disembark without molestation. The march to the lower falls was soon made. On crossing over to the French lines of intrenchment, so fatal in 1758, they were abandoned by the enemy. Many a soldier remembered the military tragedy enacted

[1] X., 960. [2] X., 962. [3] Mante's History, p. 207.

[4] So laid down upon the English map. The point is *south* of the steamboat landing. The artillery was landed farther down, near the *chute*.

there the preceding year, and cast looks of mysterious scrutiny at the rude works so victoriously defended. In the centre of these memorable lines, the French had erected, in celebration of their victory, a lofty cross, which still remained; a deep grave was sunk before it, and on the cross was a plate of brass, on which was engraven this inscription:

Pone principes eorum sicut Oreb et Zeb, et Zebee et Zalmunna.[1]

Montcalm no longer commanded the promontory of Ticonderoga. The severer exigencies of the campaign had summoned him to Quebec, to resist the movements of the gallant Wolfe. The regiments of La Sarre, Languedoc, Bearne, Guyenne, and Royal Rousillon, which once stood conquerors behind those entrenchments, were now afar off on the St. Lawrence; and the garrison in the fort was reduced to four hundred men. Bourlamaque, the French commander, perceiving, from Amherst's mode of conducting operations, that a defence of the fort would be impracticable, withdrew the main body of his troops, consisting of three thousand men, to Crown Point, on the 23d. Amherst was a cautious officer. Although he commanded 12,000 men against 400, he

[1] Mante's History, p. 212, and Warburton's Canada, II, 149. For the meaning of the inscription, see Ps. 83 : 11. Consult also Judges 7 : 25 and 8 : 21.

was not to be ensnared before fortifications. Accordingly, he commenced, in approved military style, to dig trenches, run parallels, and establish batteries. The garrison bravely resisted, and on the night of the 25th, made a sally which threw the British camp into great confusion; but at the end of three days, the works were ready. Two batteries[1] were to be opened against the fort on the morning of the 27th;[2] but the French, foreseeing its doom, had already abandoned it in the night, demolishing a part of the walls, and retiring to Crown Point. On the following day, July 27th, Amherst took possession of the fort, in the name of King George.[3]

For the first time, an English army stood upon the fine old promontory of Ticonderoga. A grand scene of mountain and of lake greeted the soldiers. There arose Mount Defiance, inactive in the war, yet towering in strength above Carillon, overlooking the joy of the conquerors. From its eminence, as yet unnamed and unoccupied, Mount Independence smiled upon the change of dynasty. Opening in the distance, lay the great lake, which had borne so many boisterous expeditions of war, now placid in the summer sun, and exciting admiration as when Cham-

[1] Holmes's American Annals, II, 233.

[2] *Amherst's* Official Report.

[3] Amherst, on gaining possession of the fort, filled up the trenches and parallels, so that not a trace of them now remains.

plain's eye first rested upon its bosom of beauty. And there, amidst the glories of the scene, stood up the rude fort of Carillon, full of pluck and war, with its four bastions guarding every point of the compass, and its banner, tattered by many a wind, left floating over the ramparts, to be pulled down by other hands than those which had strung it up.

The victory had been won at last, without a battle. Never had an English cannon been fired against Carillon; never had the fort discharged its guns against an assailing foe. Called into life against William Henry, it had survived its vanquished enemy, and had rallied at its advanced lines a gallant army, to win one of the most wonderful victories ever achieved in America. But the time of its own doom had come! Behold! the English flag now waves its royal folds over its shattered ramparts; the drums beat "God save the King;" the French lilies, trodden beneath strange feet, give incense to the conquerors; and the guns of the fort sound aloud to either lake the final triumph of 1759. Thus Carillon yielded up its name; and England, in the presence of France, occupied the promontory of Ticonderoga!

The fifth military lesson, taught at Ticonderoga in the Old French War, was, PROVIDENCE SHAPES THE END, ROUGH HEW IT HOW WE MAY.

IV. Revolutionary Events.

The FOURTH SERIES of historical events at Ticonderoga, relates to the war of the American Revolution. Although these events do not properly belong to the times now commemorated, yet the interval between them is so short, and the events are so intimately connected with Ticonderoga, that a brief reference to them is demanded by the occasion.

Peace between England and France was concluded in 1763. Questions of colonial policy had already risen, on which different opinions were held by the King's ministers and the Colonies.[1] In the agitation which prevailed, a speedy rupture was foreseen. Blood was spilt at Concord and Lexington in April, 1775. What can now resist the tide-wave of the American Revolution?

The dawn of a May morning, in 1775, found Ethan Allen and eighty-two sons of New England inside of Fort Ticonderoga, waking up the British soldiers by loud defiant huzzas. Allen himself then knocked on the commanding officer's door with the strong fists of a Vermonter; and when De La Place made his appearance in the unmilitary undress of night clothes,

[1] Among the members of Parliament who uniformly voted against the American cause, was the very Abercrombie who had disgraced England and her Colonies, in 1758, at the French lines, and in the flight to the camp on Lake George.—Bancroft.

the impetuous victor shook his sword over his head, and exacted an immediate surrender "*in the name of Jehovah and the Continental Congress.*" The astonished officer obeyed the emphatic and resistless summons; and Ticonderoga became the first-fruits of the harvest of American victories.

Seth Warner, two days after, captured Crown Point.

The peculiarities of Allen's daring exploit consisted partly in the authority under which it was executed, which was not that of the Continental Congress, or of the New York Legislature, but of the Governor and Council of the "land of steady habits." Connecticut also furnished the funds. 2. The deed was performed fourteen months before the Declaration of Independence. 3. It was executed with great skill and bravery. Although numbers were on Allen's side, all the contingencies were against him; and few men could have succeeded as he did. 4. The event inspired the Colonies with hope and self-reliance. Indeed, few recorded exploits excite more admiration, not unmixed with mirth, than Ethan Allen's at Ticonderoga.

I need not detain you by reciting how Burgoyne recaptured Ticonderoga, in 1777, first by gaining possession of Mount Hope, and cutting off the communication with Lake George; then by conveying cannon to the top of Mount Defiance, where the holes drilled in the rocks (as some think to keep the artil-

lery in position), are still visible, and also the remains of the old block-house. You all know how St. Clair, perceiving his certain doom, evacuated the fort, which was recovered on the surrender of Burgoyne, and again captured by the British in 1780, and given up at the close of the war.

These revolutionary incidents arise to our view, like distant points of an attractive landscape, although outside of the range of special observation.

Our present commemoration is with the Old French War; and to that we now come back, at the summons of 1759, to meditate upon some of its lessons.

CENTENNIAL LESSONS.

The sounds of war, echoing with centennial reverberation over the passes of Ticonderoga, suggest moral and historical reflections.

I. WHAT A CONTRAST BETWEEN THESE TIMES OF PEACE AND THOSE TIMES OF WAR! Ticonderoga has been the graveyard of many a soldier. Its sod has been crimsoned with human blood, like the red hue of the forest now pervading the autumnal landscape. Scenes of terror have been enacted here. Up and down Lake George, tides of woe have been stirred by war upon its rocky shores. Oh, War! with laurel-entwined brow, thy hand grasps for vengeance; thy heart burns with wrath! The visible impress of an

awful presence still abides in Ticonderoga. The ruins of the old fort are the emblems of the fierce old times, when men sought for blood as the thirsty deer laps the fresh water of the brook. All hail, Peace! sent of God to bless the new century! The promontory no more resounds with war-whoops; Celts and Saxons pursue no more their stratagems of death. The contrasts of peace elevate the century that is, above the century that was.

II. The various military events enacted at Ticonderoga in former years, declare THE MAGNITUDE OF THE OBJECT BEFORE THE TWO CONTENDING PARTIES. It was to settle not only the boundaries of kingdoms, but the dominion of religion, of language, and of race; not merely for a State, but for a Continent. Shall France rule in America? Shall the Papacy triumph in the valley of the Mississippi? Shall Celtic or Anglo-Saxon be the language and literature prevalent on both sides of the Alleghanies? These were the great questions put and answered at the cannon's mouth, and discussed in the conflicts on the Monongahela, at Ticonderoga, and in Quebec. Higher far than elements in the extension of the possessions of the House of Bourbon or of Hanover, were the plans of statesmen, the deeds of warriors, the blood of armies. Interwoven among the incidents of campaigns were issues far-reaching and transcendent.

New England especially was alive with the activity of religious thoughts and feelings. She seems to have had a prophetic sense of the coming destiny. Her ministers preached and laboured for the success of the Protestant arms; chaplains attended her soldiers, on distant encampments; and religion, more than liberty, animated her public spirit through the trying scenes of these old campaigns. Not less earnest were Jesuit priests and Roman Catholic leaders in a war, upon whose events hung the missions of the St. Lawrence and the lakes, and the progress of the religion throughout the vast boundaries of the Western World. The Old French War was emphatically a war of religion.[1] In this respect, it possessed a moral grandeur above that of the American Revolution. The contests at Ticonderoga were for an open Bible and a free conscience. Our Puritan fathers, like the Israelites, went to the battle-field for their inheritance; and although the campaigns were often projected by worldly officers, and fought by thoughtless soldiers, yet was religion the great issue involved in the contest, and remembered at the family altars and in the sanctuaries of New England and New York. Mothers pressed their children in faith to their hearts, and prayed for the success of Johnson, and Abercrombie, and Amherst, and Putnam, and Stark; and

[1] The Old French War on the Continent of Europe and in America was, properly, the last of the religious wars.

far-seeing clergymen and statesmen beheld, in every victory of liberty, the triumphs of Christianity.

III. The conflicts at Ticonderoga CONTRIBUTED TO THE ACQUISITION OF CANADA AND THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. According to the measure of their success, the military actions of the region had a bearing upon the final triumph. The war was begun, on the part of England, with the simple aim of resisting French encroachments, and of maintaining her own rights of territory. There were not wanting, indeed, public men, both in England and New York, who maintained, in the early part of the struggle, that the conquest of Canada was the only solid foundation of peace.[1] But this object did not enter into the aims of English statesmen until Pitt came into power. And it has been said that, even as late as the autumn of 1758, England would have been content to make a treaty, leaving Canada to France, provided the latter power would have agreed to give to England her boundaries in Acadia, on the New York frontiers, and in the valley of the Mississippi.[2] However that may be, it is certain that every victory which weakened the power of France, engaged Eng-

[1] "Canada, my lord," wrote a distinguished New Yorker, in 1755, "Canada must be demolished—*delenda est Carthago*—or we are undone." Review of Military operations, p. 143.

[2] Entick's History, IV., 83.

land to claim Canada. The expeditions of 1759 openly aimed at its conquest. The taking of Ticonderoga was one of the preliminaries of success. Amherst had been expected to press forward with the main army, and join Wolfe before Quebec. Instead of building a fort at Lake George, and repairing and enlarging the one at Ticonderoga, and establishing a new one at Crown Point, which was the most northern position he reached, he ought to have pushed his way down the St. Lawrence, and stood with Wolfe upon the plains of Abraham. Wolfe succeeded merely by one of those providential interpositions, which sometimes crown the daring of a forlorn hope. Montreal fell in the following year; and Canada became English after the long toils and conflicts of the Old French War, in which Ticonderoga bore so important a part. Canada being conquered, the dominion of France in America necessarily terminated at the end of the war; and the whole country, east of the Mississippi, with a slight exception, reverted to England.

IV. Another centennial reflection is, that STRONG MILITARY POSITIONS OFTEN BECOME WEAK IN THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION. Ticonderoga possessed strength in its original configuration, by its command over the passes between the St. Lawrence and the Hudson. In the early state of the frontier, no military position in

Northern New York equalled it in importance. Its strength was greatest, however, *relatively to the times.* The engineering skill of the Old French War did not venture to seize the overhanging mountain near at hand;[1] nor could the ordinary artillery, used in the western wilderness, assail with sure effect at such a distance. Modern warfare seeks new military positions, and necessitates new centres of attack and defence. The frontier itself has, also, been removed far off. So that Ticonderoga has lost much of its importance; like a man outliving his usefulness, or whose influence has been overshadowed by a change of circumstances. Providence sets up one place, and puts down another, in the ever progressive movements of its sovereign ordinations.

V. THE SACRIFICES IN THE OLD FRENCH WAR, scarcely less than those of the Revolution, LED ON TO THE CONTEST FOR INDEPENDENCE.

War always demands sacrifices; sacrifices of time, of resources, of industry, of comforts, of human life. New England freely contributed of them all in both wars. So did New York and New Jersey, and the other

[1] It does not appear to me clear that Montcalm himself regarded the mountain as available in reducing the fortification. Certainly, the English did not. "*The heights which command Carillon*" were not the mountain, but the hill in the neighborhood of the intrenchments. X. 766.

colonies. The people became inured to self-denial and suffering, and fought their way up in spirit and power to national independence. Not more certainly is Mount Defiance included in the same landscape with Mount Independence, on the opposite shore of Champlain, than do the battle-fields of the French War stand in juxtaposition with those of the American Revolution. The interval that separated the two wars was short — only twelve or thirteen years; and that interval was marked by political agitations, which may be said to have kept the watchfires burning.[1] The men who had defended themselves against French encroachments, were not the men to submit to English aggression. Truer ideas of liberty had been evolved in all the discussions of the French War, and a stronger reliance had been nurtured in provincial prowess. Ticonderoga was one of the military academies, where were trained the generals and soldiers for the Revolution. As Lake George flows into Lake Champlain by the connecting pathway of a narrow stream, so the Old French War, after a brief interval, found its natural outlet into the expanding course of American Liberty.

[1] The year 1763, in which the treaty of peace between England and France was signed, was the very year in which SAMUEL OTIS delivered, at Boston, his celebrated speech, which opened the campaign of the American Revolution.

VI. The true defences of a country consist, NOT IN ITS FORTS, BUT IN THE HEARTS AND ENERGIES OF THE PEOPLE. Unless a fort occupies a commanding military position, extremely difficult to assault successfully, it invites preparations for its destruction, and it is sure to fall before an active foe. How far Forts William Henry and Carillon accomplished any important result that was not equally within the reach of military expeditions, it may not be easy to decide. Sir William Johnson, after the defeat of Dieskau, was afraid to proceed against Ticonderoga, although unprotected at that time by a fortification. And it is certain that Fort William Henry was not of any great service during the war. Indeed, its unmilitary position, and the unprotected state of its defences, invited its memorable doom of blood. Ticonderoga was undoubtedly of more use to the French than was William Henry to the English. Yet there was no power in Ticonderoga to arrest Amherst in 1759, or Burgoyne in 1777. Burgoyne easily captured the fort from its natural point of attack; but his own army was as easily captured after he had rashly advanced into the territory of a people resolute to defend their country and their homes. Without denying the utility, and even the necessity, of fortifications among the resources of war, and without depreciating the ancient power of these little fortresses on the Northern frontier, it will be generally admitted that the

true defences of a country against an invading foe consist in the intelligence, the virtue, the hardihood, and the skill in arms, of the yeomanry of the land.

VII. A word may be said in commemoration of THE GREAT MEN, WHO HAVE MOVED AMONG THE PASSES OF TICONDEROGA.

At the head of the illustrious, stands CHAMPLAIN. Animated by the spirit of adventure, he left his home at St. Onge for the seas, and became the founder of Quebec, and the discoverer of the lake of the Iroquois and of Ticonderoga. If a monument should ever be erected on the promontory, in honour of its great men and its great events, the name of Champlain ought to be upon it, with an arquebus engraved as the fit memorial of his presence, in 1609.

Among the Iroquois, who often ambushed here, was HENDRICK, the great Mohawk chief. There is a recorded notice of one of his excursions against the Canadians, in 1747.[1] With his people, he often importuned the Governor of New York to organize an expedition to attack Crown Point.[2] Let the name of Hendrick be upon the Ticonderoga monument, in commemoration of the Iroquois owners of the soil, with a bow and tomahawk for a memorial.

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[1] Hendrick or "*White Head*," a great Mohawk Chief, who had made an attack on our settlements, last war. X., 323. Also VI., 343.

[2] VI., 946.

Montcalm is forever associated with Carillon. The two great exploits that made him the hero of Lake George, were the destruction of Fort William Henry at its south side, in 1757, and the repulse of Abercrombie on the north side, in 1758. Let a sword, with its handle entwined with lilies, be the emblem of the heroic Frenchman.

Lord Howe, young and chivalrous and beloved, died a military death in the overarching forests of Ticonderoga. A wreath of laurel is his appropriate monumental remembrancer.

Amherst, the tardy and the watchful, the "slow but sure" of generals, has a title to a place on the monument, as the capturer of Carillon. The arms of our mother England should be inscribed with his name.

Ethan Allen, the daring, dashing Vermonter, performed a deed of valour in the early dawn of the American Revolution, that demands a patriotic commemoration. Let his name be engraved in *old Roman* letters, with a representation of the stars and stripes!

Other great men, as the Schuylers, Putnam, Stark, Pomeroy, Burgoyne, St. Clair, etc., were well known here; but the preceding names may be a sufficient and proper selection from them all.

Citizens of Ticonderoga! shall not 1859 make the contribution of a monument in memory of 1759? There is no finer or fitter place in the world for an

historical shaft. On an elevated and memorable plateau, amidst the ruins of the olden time, in sight of grand and towering mountains, and in the presence of a beautiful lake, Nature pleads with History for a memorial. Let not a monument be denied on such a site, for such names, and for such deeds, at the beginning of a new century, which rekindles afresh memories that can never die.

VII. The last thought, suggested by the occasion, is the CENTURY'S CALL.

The roll has often been beaten by the drum in Fort Carillon, and in its successor fort, Ticonderoga; sounding its notes with the morning sun, and arousing the camp to duty and to toil. To-day, the new Century beats the reveille! Its awakening strains call to thoughts of the past and of the future! Methinks, I hear the solemn sounds from the band of a hundred years, coming down to the armies of the living generation, over the graves of thousands sleeping in the camp of death.

The advent of the new century demands a *grateful remembrance of ancestral deeds.* The work, done by the men of olden time, was great in its passing benefits, but greatest in its progressive good. What an inheritance of unnumbered blessings, personal, social, and religious, has been bequeathed by our ancestors, whose character is stamped armorially upon

all their gifts! Those men are ours by country-right and history-right; ours by the consecration of doing and suffering and dying. At the incoming of 1859, Gratitude cherishes the virtue and the valour of past generations.

The Century's call announces *the future destiny of our country*. With prophetic trumpet in hand, the new century points to the coming greatness and influence of America among the nations of the earth. The elements tendered by local history for the calculation, evolve a problem of vast magnitude. At the capture of Ticonderoga, thirteen States and two millions of inhabitants were the sum of our national power; at the end of a hundred years, thirty-three States, with as many millions of inhabitants, rise up in the name of American progress. In 1759, the Empire State was almost an unbroken wilderness, north and west of Albany; in 1859, its fields and valleys, from Lake Champlain to Lake Erie, are robed with the vegetation of abounding harvests; and the eighty thousand of its inhabitants have swelled to three millions, or one-third more than were in the whole country a century ago. Who can foretell the future progress, resources, and greatness of America?

"Oh, fair young mother! on thy brow
Shall sit a nobler grace than now.
Deep in the brightness of thy skies,
The thronging years in glory rise,
And, as they fleet,
Drop strength and riches at thy feet."

The Century's call is to GOD, *above all and beyond all.* He created the majestic mountains around about Ticonderoga, its sweet valley, and glorious lakes, and notable promontory. In his holy Providence, He has overruled all the wars of Indians, and of Frenchmen, and of Englishmen, to the advancement of Americans. To God alone belongs the glory of giving Liberty and Protestantism to these United States. Often has He interposed, in dark times of trial, to restore our fallen fortunes. In 1757, when, after the destruction of Fort William Henry, France reigned triumphant over our entire Northern and Western frontiers; and in 1758, when Abercrombie's army was repulsed with fearful slaughter at the Ticonderoga lines, our fathers' God brought forth for the American cause, victory out of deep disaster. During the intervening century, His goodness has marked out our way with clouds of direction and with fiery pillars of defence. Throughout two other wars, our country has been conducted in safety and honour. Plenty fills the land. Revivals of religion animate the churches. Power dwells safely with the people. Institutions of learning and religion nurture the young. Peace smiles upon our inheritance. "Ye are blessed of the Lord who made heaven and earth." Lift up your hearts to Him in the thoughts of centennial commemoration. Let Ticonderoga give praise for the events which have wrought greatness into its

own history, and which have contributed to the advancement of the general history of the world.

Every occurrence, on whatever scale, brings glory to God. Time daily worships Him at the altar of Providence. Ages bend before Him in adoration. Centuries, as they sweep by on their wings of majestic flight, veil their faces before His throne.

The end of all things is at hand. Hark! The reveille of eternity is marshalling the nations for their last review. Mountains, and lakes, and skies are folded away, like tents, forever. THE PROMONTORY OF TIME IS NO MORE!

THE END.

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